

Mr. Duddle

PLEASE RETURN TO
The Lutheran World Federation
News Bureau
17, route de Malagnou
GENEVA SWITZERLAND

William A. Duddle

LUTHERAN WORLD

**PUBLICATION OF THE
LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION**

JUNE

1959

Vol. VI, No. 1

THE LUTHERAN EXEGETE AND THE
CONFESSIONS OF HIS CHURCH

NILS A. DAHL

A JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN
BOOK

CLAUS WESTERMANN

THE NEW TESTAMENT AND THE
PREACHING OF THE CHURCH

KRISTER STENDAHL

THE PROBLEM OF HERMENEUTICS

WERNER SCHULTZ

CONTENTS

The Lutheran Exegete and the Confessions of his Church, by Nils A. Dahl	2
A Jewish and Christian Book, by Claus Westermann	11
The New Testament and the Preaching of the Church, by Krister Stendahl	28
The Problem of Hermeneutics in Current Continental Philosophy and Theology, by Werner Schultz	33

FROM THE WORK OF THE LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION AND THE ECUMENICAL WORLD

Geneva Diary, by Carl E. Lund-Quist	53
<i>World Mission</i>	
First Contours of the African Radio Station, by Sigurd Aske	56
<i>World Service</i>	
People and Churches, by Ruth Wick	57
First European Stewardship Conference, by Eugene Ries	60
<i>World Council of Churches</i>	
Pioneers' Passing, by Daisuke Kitagawa	62
<i>United Nations Children's Fund</i>	
Help for Children, by Alison Mathers	65

FROM LANDS AND CHURCHES

<i>Germany</i>	
The Religion of the Younger Generation, by Hans-Otto Wölber	71
<i>Great Britain</i>	
Clinical Training at Oxford, by William E. Hulme	73
<i>Italy</i>	
Evangelism in a Roman Catholic Context, by Idelmo Poggioli	74
The Descendants of the Waldensians, by Sergio Rostagno	76
<i>Sweden</i>	
Bringing the Gospel from its Ghetto, by Olov Hartman	79
<i>Czechoslovakia</i>	
The First Lutheran Church Building, by Emil Edgar	83

BOOK REVIEWS

Infant Baptism and the Hidden God (David Löfgren)	86
On the Frontiers of the Reformation (Peter Fraenkel)	90
In Honor of Paul Althaus (Gottfried Hornig)	92
Younger Churches and African Sects (Willi J. Knoob)	94
The Layman's Theological Library (Jacob Kumaresan, Sigfrid Estborn, P. David, Daniel Bitsch)	100
New Testament Faith for Today (Martin J. Heineken, John Reumann)	106

CORRESPONDENCE	112
--------------------------	-----

EDITORIAL: An Advisory Board for the Lutheran World	113
---	-----

Editorial Notes	116
---------------------------	-----

Events in the Ecumenical World	117
--	-----

Supplement: *Literature Survey* for June, 1959

LUTHERAN WORLD

PUBLICATION OF THE LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION

Vol. VI, No. 1

June, 1959

A MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENTS OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

PENTECOST is the festival of the Holy Spirit and the festival of the church. For these two belong together. St. Paul states that relationship in these words:

*"For by one Spirit we were all baptized into one body,
Jews or Greeks, slaves and free...." (1 Cor. 12:13)*

The Holy Spirit has created the church. The Holy Spirit is the life of the church today. As we pray that the Holy Spirit may come into our own lives, we pray at the same time that we may become living members of the one body of Christ.

The Holy Spirit is the Spirit of unity, which is constantly at work to heal the divisions which obscure the wonderful truth of the oneness of Christ's body and which gathers all the baptized together into the one family of God.

The Holy Spirit is the Spirit of renewal, which overcomes the dimness of our vision, the routine of our piety, our easy acceptance of the ways of the world and gives new life to the congregations and their members who open their hearts and minds for the gifts of the Spirit.

The Holy Spirit is the Spirit of witness and mission which urges us to cease being preoccupied with ourselves and sends us out into the world with its crying spiritual and material needs in order to proclaim by word and deed that humanity is surrounded by the love of God in Christ.

The Holy Spirit is the Spirit of reconciliation which overcomes misunderstanding and estrangement among the churches and enables them to become a force for peace between nations and races.

Let us therefore rejoice in the presence of God's Holy Spirit. Let us witness anew to his all-transforming power. Let us glorify God and enjoy the fruits of his Spirit who has come to lead us to greater fullness of life, this day and evermore.

The Presidents of the World Council of Churches:

Dr. JOHN BAILLIE, Edinburgh

Bishop SANTE UBERTO BARBIERI, Buenos Aires

Bishop OTTO DIBELIUS, Berlin

Metropolitan JUHANON MAR THOMA, Tiruvella

Bishop HENRY KNOX SHERRILL, Boxford, Mass.

The Lutheran Exegete and the Confessions of his Church

NILS A. DAHL

DOES IT MAKE any sense to speak of biblical exegesis bound by the Lutheran confessions? Or is that nonsense? More specifically, what do the phrases "bound by the confessions" and "biblical exegesis" really mean? In reality such questions can very likely be answered only as one actually does exegesis or by referring to exegetical studies already completed. Naturally there are publications in the field of exegesis by theologians of the Lutheran confession. But can one today, when one looks, say, at scholarly commentaries and monographs, still speak of exegesis bound by the Lutheran confessions, somewhat in the same way as one can without a doubt speak of Roman Catholic biblical scholarship? If that is not the case, or if it is true only to a very limited degree, is it not a profoundly disquieting fact for the Lutheran churches and for Lutheran exegetes? Or is it something that neither can nor should be any other way? The following pages do not pretend to answer these questions. Their purpose is merely to lead to further reflection upon them.

An Interconfessional Venture

Exegesis cannot be bound by the confessions in the sense that its results are already fixed in advance by the doctrinal affirmations of the confessions. The exegete, too, will of course have reason to take note of the confessions' interpretation of Scripture: the freedom of scholarship is not freedom to be arbitrary, but freedom to be bound only by its subject matter. But both the objectivity and the earnestness of exegesis, as well as the confessions themselves in their designation of the Scriptures as the sole norm, prohibit us from regarding the interpretation of Scripture in the confessions as a kind of "answer book." The admittedly difficult but basically harmless task of the exegete would then consist merely in poring over his exercises long enough to arrive at the same answers on his own. Such a conception of his task the exegete must not and cannot have if he does not wish to cut himself off from his fellow exegetes and from all the exegetical work being done around the world. The person who is serious in his intention to work in the ranks of contemporary exegetes must assume the risk of not knowing in advance which of his findings will stand up under testing. The only thing that counts is the validity of his arguments.

Present-day biblical scholarship is interconfessional to an astounding degree. A glance at the leading theological journals, or at the works cited in the more important exegetical studies published, or at the lists of participants at conferences for the study of the Old and New Testament, is proof of this fact. Current exegesis is in fact a cooperative venture extending even far beyond the bounds

of the World Council of Churches. If one possesses the tools of scholarship and has something to contribute to the historical interpretation of the Bible and to an understanding of its thought, it makes no differences if he is Lutheran, Reformed, Roman Catholic or Jewish. Many an exegete has found, much to his own astonishment, that he has been understood especially well by scholars from denominations quite different from his own.

There exists today, as never before in like degree, the possibility of mutual understanding between scholars representing the various confessions—and in the area of exegesis at that, the place where the confessions once parted company. This is basically a result not of ecclesiastical and ecumenical efforts; it is the consequence of the triumph—both within and without the walls of the Christian confessions—of critical, philological and historical methods in the field of exegesis. What this fact signifies for the future, no one knows. Perhaps a great deal, perhaps not. Indeed the question can be raised whether the situation described here is not merely a sign that exegesis has become a stranger to the sphere where the church actually speaks and acts, and that the task of exegesis has been relinquished to a supraconfessional guild of scholars. Within the guild the members perhaps speak in “existentialist” categories, but do they any longer address one another existentially, as one Christian to another? If not, is it for this reason that they get on so well with one another?

The “Secularization” of Exegesis

It is a fact that we must today speak of a certain “secularization” of exegesis. The passing into obsolescence of the typically Liberal understanding of Scripture has done nothing to alter this situation. As professional exegetes we no longer speak as did the Reformers simply of “God” and his “word.” Instead we make a study of the biblical concept of the word of God and of the understanding of the idea of God that emerges in the biblical writings. Are we here confronted with a conception of scholarship derived from science and absolutized at the cost of true biblical interpretation? If so, then many streams of thought will have contributed to the process, including modern ideologies inimical to the Bible. Yet another factor seems to me to have been decisive. The advances made in the efforts to arrive at an understanding of the Bible have made it necessary to look, with increasingly refined methods, for arguments which can be verified as independently as possible of the exegete’s own particular convictions, or those of his fellow exegetes. For the sake of the objectivity of exegetical argumentation, the exegete was able to speak only of the biblical faith in God—but not, at the same time, of his own faith.

If an exegete tries to demonstrate, let us say, that biblical thought is religious and personal, with no concern for the kind of impartial observation that characterizes modern scholarship, he can make his thesis plausible and of value for exegetical discussion only by undergirding it with such observations and with arguments which can be controlled by other scholars. Neither by recourse to

instructions issued by the church nor to the piety of the exegete, can exegesis extricate itself from the secular sphere that is a concomitant of the methodology of modern scholarship. The only alternative would be for exegesis to forego its claim to scholarship, i.e., its intent to establish its interpretation as far as possible through the use of clear arguments susceptible of general verification. But that would be to make of exegesis an esoteric science and thus to forego, within the circle of culture informed by scholarship, the gospel's claim to a public hearing. If, however, God has in the past spoken through clear and intelligible words of man, it must also be possible, by utilizing the tested medium of philological and historical research, to ascertain the meaning of those words—even if modern man then finds that meaning difficult of comprehension and offensive. The professional exegete can only make clear in what way those words were spoken and heard as the word of God. He has no criteria at his disposal which would enable him to decide to what extent God himself spoke and still speaks through them.

The Lutheran exegete's faithfulness to the confessions of his church shows itself, in the first place, in the simple fact that he does his work in the faith that the God of the Bible is also the God of all truth, the Creator who has given me "my reason and all my senses." Precisely as a Lutheran theologian he can hold to the conviction that the scholar's search for truth, no less than the work of all other respectable vocations, can be a way of serving God. In that respect, exegesis "properly understood and executed belongs to the sphere of good works" (Käsemann). The shoemaker serves God and his neighbor by making good shoes, not by using Bible passages and pious phrases to hide the fact that he makes poor shoes. In the same way the professional exegete has a piece of respectable intellectual work to do and must not seek to embellish poor scholarship with pious manner of speech.

Gifts of the Spirit

In thus defining the place of biblical scholarship, we have, to be sure, also stated at the same time that biblical scholarship must not claim to be or to accomplish what the Bible calls "knowledge of God," or "wisdom," or "teaching." All these are looked upon in the New Testament as gifts of the Holy Spirit. By the same token, learned exegesis, be it ever so excellent, is not what the confessions call "pure doctrine." Understanding in the biblical sense is not the same as correctly observing, describing and reproducing the content of the text. That understanding comes where the word is heard as the redeeming, comforting and admonitory exhortation of God. The actual exposition of the Bible is not achieved simply through the exegetical argumentation of the commentaries, but through preaching, teaching, pastoral care and brotherly conversation, in which the words of the Scripture are extended to people.

The Christian theologian is a man learned in Holy Scripture. A person does not become a theologian in Luther's sense, however, through learned studies,

at least not through them alone. The true theologian is the man who knows how to distinguish between law and gospel. For that task much wisdom is required, which only the Holy Spirit can bestow. It is a task where one is concerned not with theoretical knowledge but with a proper hearing of law and gospel and with knowing when and to whom to speak the comforting word of the forgiveness of sins and when to insist upon God's commandments. What makes a theologian in this sense is not the mastering of the craft of exegesis but *oratio, meditatio* and *tentatio*.

Spiritual wisdom can be lacking in the outstanding biblical scholar, and it can be present in the ordinary layman who knows his God and his Bible but understands nothing of the work being done by the scholars. Popularized biblical scholarship is no substitute for spiritual wisdom, although it can conceivably usurp its place. But spiritual wisdom can also be stifled where people deliberately close their eyes to the findings and problems of exegetical scholarship in order to confirm themselves in a lay orthodoxy derived from tradition and no longer wholly honest, a phenomenon one finds also among pastors.

Even apart from all this, however, the right understanding of the word is not an inevitable fruit of the will to hear in the Bible the word of God addressed to me here and now. As we all know, the devil too can quote Scripture, and precisely when that would serve his purposes. Naive biblicism is just as apt to result in Enthusiasm as in proper understanding of the gospel. Hence preaching and teaching are necessary, also as a guide to the correct way to read and hear the Scriptures when used privately. But preaching and teaching also require guidance if they are to interpret Scripture correctly, and that is the service the confessions seek to render.

That brings us once again to our real theme: the Lutheran exegete and the confessions of his church. To what extent does the interpretation of Scripture in the confessions, as the church's answer to the biblical message and as the norm of correct preaching, have an independent authority and significance in relation to scholarly exegesis? To what extent is the confessions' interpretation of Scripture to be criticized and corrected by exegesis? Questions such as these can be answered really only by examining what the confessions actually do say. We can therefore be very happy that one of the items the Lutheran World Federation has placed on the agenda of its study program is an examination of the doctrine of justification in the confessions and in the Bible. A general answer such as our own can only offer some hints and can only be dialectic in nature.

Not Magisterial Authority

The first thing we must maintain is that the doctrinal statements of the confessions have their authority not in themselves but only as a correct interpretation of Scripture. The situation in the Roman Catholic Church is different. In this century Roman Catholic biblical scholarship has been granted an extra-

ordinary amount of freedom, greater often than that enjoyed by exegetes in many a Protestant church. Yet there can hardly be any doubt that this freedom is connected with the fact that the doctrinal decisions of the Roman Catholic Church are already fixed, by virtue of the authority of the Magisterium as embodied in the infallible papacy. They remain fixed even if it should turn out that their biblical bases are shaky or even lacking entirely. Roman Catholic scholars were able to express themselves very openly on the weak historical bases of the dogma of the assumption of Mary. The Roman Catholic scholar may also be very well aware that it is impossible through exegetical arguments to substantiate the contention that the words addressed to Peter in Matt. 16:17-19 had in view also Peter's successors, more specifically, his successors on the bishop's throne in Rome. The question of the legitimate interpretation and normative application of these words of the Lord is then said to be answered not by Scripture itself, but by church history in which they have found an interpretation in fact.

Under no circumstances must a similar magisterial authority be claimed for the content of the Lutheran confessions. That would mean making of the Lutheran church an inferior copy of the Roman church, whereas the Lutheran church has its true existence only *vis à vis* the latter. On the basis of the gospel given in Scripture it should raise protest against Roman teaching; at the same time it should be ready to render an account of whether its own teaching is Scriptural. To do so is a serious matter, however. The Lutheran church has a legitimate existence only as it gives biblical research its freedom. It can grant that freedom only at the price of at the same time risking its own existence and being ready to submit to correction its teaching recorded in the confessions.

The Ambiguity of Facts

This cannot mean, however, that the tie linking preaching and teaching to the confessions is to be exchanged in favor of a dependence on the currently reigning schools of exegesis. Anyone with some acquaintance with the history of exegetical research in the last two centuries can only rejoice that the latest findings of scholarship were not everywhere immediately proclaimed from the pulpit and in the classroom. He can also rejoice in the fact that a certain, albeit not overly large, core of confessional, old Lutheran doctrine was preserved. But even apart from its many blunders and misinterpretations—which in view of the history of Western thought are often quite understandable and with respect to subsequent research have yielded some fruitful results—biblical scholarship as such is in the main not in a position to provide answers to the questions agitating the church in any particular age without overstepping its own boundaries. It is true the exegete can very well be called to step outside those confines, but he should then be aware of what he is doing.

Scholarship establishes what the facts are, the actual, historical meaning of a passage in the Bible, for instance. Facts are in themselves susceptible of various interpretation however. To have light thrown upon the facts is very useful and very necessary. But the more the question of their actual significance is raised and the more urgent the question becomes, the less do the mere statements of the facts and of objective arguments suffice. The situation is no different when it comes to the interpretation of the Bible. An example may illustrate what I mean. Exegetes are able to come to extensive agreement on the content of the concept of the church and the variations of that concept in primitive Christianity as attested by the various writings of the New Testament. They can agree fairly well on the meaning of apostleship, or on the development that led to the office of the ministry in early Catholicism. A few points remain unclarified, but the existing differences in conception are not easily traceable to the denominational loyalties of the scholars concerned. And yet the facts thus established can be variously interpreted and evaluated by Roman Catholics, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Lutherans, or scholars with no denominational leanings. Where one sees apostasy, the other sees a development guided by the Holy Spirit.

If instead of this example I had cited the relation of the Old Testament to the New and the fulfillment of the Old Testament promises in Jesus, it would have become even more apparent that exegesis, with its practice of observing critically and recording what it sees, is unable to provide the decisive answers.

A Cooperative Venture

Preaching and teaching can therefore not allow either the confessions alone or biblical exegesis alone to dictate to them what "Scriptural" preaching and teaching really are. There must be instead a continuous dialogue between the interpretation of Scripture in the confessions and that being done by biblical scholarship. As a third partner in the dialogue I would include in addition the understanding of Scripture implicit in the actual life of the church, in its liturgy, its hymnal, its preaching and its piety. All—confessions, biblical scholarship, the church's life—should have their say, and all are at the same time to be called in question and subjected to criticism. The hermeneutical task, in the sense of a prolegomenon to translating the message and teaching of the Bible into the present situation of the church, can therefore, in my opinion, not be executed by any one authority—neither by the confessions, nor the exegetes, nor the professional dogmaticians, nor the pastors, nor anyone else, be they ever so endowed with charismatic knowledge. Naturally it can happen that an individual makes a decisive contribution to the understanding of Scripture, but normally we are dependent upon all these working together, each one making its own distinctive contribution and each ready to give ear to the other.

The manner in which questions raised by exegesis are to be addressed to the interpretation of Scripture in the confessions is illustrated by the appendix to Edmund Schlink's *Theologie der lutherischen Bekenntnisschriften* (Munich: Christian Kaiser, 2nd ed., 1946). Schlink here discusses not only the way the confessions interpret individual passages of Scripture but also the way they employ or do not employ certain biblical concepts. Taking their teaching on the law, for example, or baptism, he shows how that teaching is to be examined as to whether it embraces and testifies to the witness of the whole of Scripture on these points. The examples can naturally be multiplied. In addition, the question should be raised whether the problems which presently occupy exegetes as a result of historico-critical research should not be paid more attention than was done in these preliminary efforts by Schlink.

Questions to the Exegete

The "dialogue" should not, however, consist only of questions addressed to the confessions. The exegete must also be ready to give ear. From a living, pre-scholarly relation to the Bible can come insights and possibilities of understanding which can also fructify exegetical studies methodically pursued. The interpretation of Scripture in the confessions derives from Luther's understanding of Scripture. And Luther's understanding of Scripture has something "charismatic" about it, even though it was of course not formed apart from an exegetical tradition and apart from the study of the Bible in humanism. Luther's interpretation of Scripture has stimulated, in its own right, learned exegesis and can still do so. The exegetical scholar should therefore heed the interpretation of Scripture recorded in the confessions as well as that always going on in the life of the church, but always with the question of how far these insights more directly acquired, or acquired through the church's doctrinal tradition, really stand up when subjected to critical testing. His fairness and objectivity as an exegete become evident in the openness with which he approaches the arguments of scholars who come from other ecclesiastical traditions and experiences.

More than stimulation, however, the exegete probably needs criticism. The systematician schooled in philosophical and theological criticism should have something to say to him here. I am thinking, e.g., of how he can lay bare the often unconscious presuppositions with which the individual exegete, or a school of exegetes, or perhaps a whole generation of biblical scholars, perhaps operates. What is clear and what is dubious in the exegete's use of concepts such as causality and analogy? What is necessary for the sake of objective research and valid argumentation, and what are really ingredients of a particular world view which were appropriated along with the methods but are, at bottom, conditioned by certain trends within a particular cultural situation? Is the terminology employed by exegetes really appropriate to their subject matter? These and similar

questions are not to be raised only when one wishes, for dogmatic reasons, to do battle with a particular school of exegesis; they are relevant questions in all exegetical labors. The exegete, too, must address such questions to himself. Only rarely, however, does he possess a mastery of the scholarly tools necessary to answer them, and he cannot allow his work to be crippled by continual self-criticism. Therefore he needs the collaboration of the systematic theologians. To be of help, the systematician must of course be thoroughly conversant with exegetical research and its problems—not in order to glean valuable new insights for a new dogmatics text, but in order to criticize and clarify the way exegetes actually go about their work and perhaps to suggest how they might better approach it, in a way that would further the “dialogue” between exegesis and dogmatics.

The Role of the Confessions

Without dictating his results to him, the church’s confessions can point the exegete to those questions which he should address to Scripture above all others. These questions are given neither with the Scriptures as historical documents nor with the historical method as such. At one time universal truths about God and man were regarded as the essential thing in the Bible. Then it was the idea of the unity of God and man manifesting itself in history. Then it was the religious life behind the Scriptures that people were concerned about—and discovered in the great religious figures of the Bible or in the worship life of Israel and the church. All such conceptions are not to be looked upon simply as exegetical findings, for the type of question asked influenced beforehand the type of answer given.

The church’s confession does not bind exegesis to a particular doctrine of inspiration of Scripture. It does point out, however, that the original and abiding task of exegesis lies in letting the text itself speak. The exegetical commentary must not, either through its learning or its cleverness, serve to replace the text. It exists rather to facilitate understanding of the text. There is a type of literary criticism in which the critic’s interest in the poet’s life bulks so large that it nearly crowds out the poet’s work and whatever it is that gives his work its poetic quality. There is in biblical scholarship a similar danger: that it may become so lost in literary hypotheses, historical reconstructions and *religionsgeschichtliche* parallels that it loses sight of its real subject matter, namely, what the Scriptures have to say.

The church’s confession calls exegesis back to its basic task. This it does above all by pointing to the center of Scripture: the gospel of the crucified and risen Lord Jesus Christ and the salvation offered in his name. That this gospel constitutes that center will go undisputed at least insofar as one considers that a forfeiture of its centrality inevitably means a forfeiture of the unity of the Bible. Without that center the Bible would dissolve into a kaleidoscope of various literary forms, theological teachings and types of religious life. In any

case, the unity and authority of the Bible cannot be established, say, through the veneration of a "historical Jesus" isolated from the apostolic gospel and the resurrection, or by means of a general idea of religious development.

The center of Scripture is, to be sure, not the totality of the biblical canon. As a confession of the *church* the creeds and confessions point to the fact that the gospel belongs in a much wider context: God's dealings with his people and his church, from the creation unto the consummation. Where the full and manifold witness of the scriptures of the Old and New Testament no longer really has its say, there the danger exists that the gospel will be understood only one-sidedly in actualistic and individualistic terms.

For the person who allows the church's confession to direct him to biblical exegesis, the elementary task of exegesis remains the most important and the most authentic one: the precise reading of what is written. All his work on questions of philology, literary criticism, form criticism, history (in the narrow sense) and, finally, biblical theology, becomes a means to the end. The actual goal of his work remains to arrive at an understanding of the gospel attested in the Scriptures in its significance for the total life of the church and the world.

When the exegete understands his task in this way, he does not commit himself to one particular school of exegesis—"conservative," "*heilsgeschichtlich*," or whatever. His undertaking is a dare. He can give no guarantees of what will finally result from his work, and he must not allow the church to dictate to him his methods and results. And yet the church's confessions demand that his work be done. With respect to the basis and goal of his work he therefore knows himself to be bound to the confession of his church.

A Jewish and Christian Book

CLAUS WESTERMANN

How is it that the Old Testament reposes in both church and synagogue?

Because it is the book of expectation. In the synagogue at Capernaum Jesus took the scroll of the prophet Isaiah and read to the congregation from it. The words he read are the same as those we find in our own Bibles. The scroll from which he read is very nearly the same as that discovered not long ago, along with other writings sealed in earthen jars, in a cave on the Dead Sea.

This Isaiah scroll is part of the Torah which is today displayed in synagogues in Jerusalem, Berlin or Chicago. Today, as at the time of Jesus, it is read aloud to the congregation.

The Old Testament is a book open to the future. It ends on a note of expectation. But the expectation in regard to the Coming One has never been fulfilled in such a way that one could say with absolute certainty, "Here, or there, the expectation has become reality." That Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah awaited in the Old Testament was an affirmation the disciples of Jesus believed and proclaimed, lived and suffered for. Proof they could not bring. Nor was it Jesus' intention to bring proof. He sought faith. To this day the question of his messiahship is a question which must stand.

For Jesus came as a king without power. He healed the sick but did not abolish sickness. He forgave sins but did not make man sinless. He stilled the storm, but catastrophes still strike. Hence it is possible to deny that Jesus is the Messiah. Hence the bible of the old covenant reposes in both church and synagogue. This fact is an unmistakeable sign that the message of God acting in Christ can still be contradicted. God is waiting for Israel to stop waiting for the Messiah and to recognize that He has come—long ago.¹

The Riddle of the Common Inheritance

The fact that the same book reposes and is read in both synagogue and church, i.e. the fact that the same book has been transmitted from generation to generation in the worship and teaching of the Jewish and the Christian communities, is more important than any conceivable differences in the interpretation and use of this book ever can be. The significance of this fact has hardly ever received sufficient attention hitherto. But in a world in which most people are bent upon living without God, the import of the fact that in both synagogue and church the 90th psalm is prayed and the story of Isaiah's call is read—from the same book—is again becoming clear.

¹ From *Wenn man dich fragt* (Stuttgart: Kreuz Verlag, 1958).

The essence of all tradition rests in its duality: it is a giving and receiving, a transmission and an appropriation. For at least sixty generations the Old Testament has been handed down among both Christians and Jews from reader to hearer, fathers to sons, teachers to pupils, these three forms of community—worshipping congregation, family, school—being the context of the transmission for both Christians and Jews. That in the process of transmission and appropriation the Old Testament did not simply come to rest one day, to be handed down no more; that there is no significant gap in the process of transmission; that the recipients in each generation also became transmitters—this is the first important fact.

At the same time neither Christians nor Jews have reason to boast of this unbroken tradition. Both have lived to see the vigor of transmission ebb and finally vanish completely among a section of their people, because their faith in the significance of this book had ebbed and vanished. The existence of both believers and unbelievers in the Jewish people and in the Christian peoples is reason for limiting both tributaries of the stream of the Old Testament tradition to those for whom the Bible is a fountain of living water. This fact silences all boasting and makes the miracle of the continuing tradition all the greater.

The history of the Old Testament in the Christian church shows very clearly at several points how much more important was the transmission of the book itself than the changes in the exegesis of the book. One such point, decisive for the whole history of the church, was the decision which the church—then just in the process of constituting itself—took against Marcion around the year 150. What Marcion was attempting confronted the church for the first time with the question of what significance it attached to the Old Testament. Who knows how the decision might have gone had Marcion's antithesis not made crystal clear that to drop the Old Testament as a holy scripture of the church meant, inevitably, to whittle down and thus substantially alter the New? Here, once and for all, was a demonstration to and for the church that an attack upon the Old Testament is an attack upon the New.²

Liberalism's appropriation of Marcion's thesis at the beginning of this century, particularly Harnack's very precise expression of it in his book on Marcion, was another demonstration of the same. Harnack's thesis was that only "religious and ecclesiastical paralysis" could account for the church's continued retention of the Old Testament. Like Marcion but not as obviously as he, Harnack alongside his attack on the Old Testament also tampered seriously with the New. Immediately following, the question of how it regarded the Old Testament confronted the German church with much greater earnestness in the form of political anti-Semitism, which, in complete contrast to Harnack's appeal, *did* jolt the church from the paralyzing lethargy which its long indifference to the Old Testament had brought upon it.

² Cf. here A. Higgins, *The Christian Significance of the Old Testament* (London, 1949).

These crises only demonstrated with particular clarity what it meant for the church simply to possess the Old Testament, even given the church's differing interpretations and estimates of the book.

Why, then, in the course of 2000 years has this common tradition never led to a significant *rapprochement* between Christians and Jews? Why in all this time has it never led both communities as a whole even to inquire after what they have in common? Doesn't this fact demonstrate that their common possession and transmission of the Old Testament has *not* had any effect in practice?

With these questions in mind, we want to trace the transmission of the Old Testament among both Christians and Jews in the three contexts in which it took place: worship, the family and teaching.

I

The Context of Worship

In distinguishing what is truly common and truly contrasting in the fortunes and status of the Old Testament among Jews and Christians, the worship service is decisive. The very designation of the book which establishes and sustains the two communities—"Bible"—is already a mark of what there is in common. Apart from the origin and appropriation of the term, and apart from the fact that the two "Bibles" contain different writings, the term itself is so momentous, so charged with the communities' experiences with their book, that it points beyond all differences to something in common.

The synagogue has in addition the older term *miqrā*, that is, "reading" (the original meaning being "calling together"="assembly," which corresponds to the Greek *ecclesia*). The term says that the writings which it embraces exist to be read. The form of worship molded by the reading of the Scriptures apparently goes back to the Babylonian exile. After the destruction of the temple, it became *the* form of worship in the Jewish community. The reading of Scripture is central in Jewish worship.

In this form, worship for the first time in the history of the world was dissociated from a place, a person and instruments considered holy in themselves. This gave it a mobility which enabled exiles to hold worship services in their place of exile, travelers to worship as they traveled and prisoners in prison. They needed nothing more than the Bible and a congregation longing for the word of God. This form of worship, with some alterations, has become normative in the three religions deriving from the Old Testament: Judaism, Islam and Christianity. In all three the factor of mobility has been of special significance.

Reading and interpretation of Scripture, prayer in the sense of praise (sung and spoken in the liturgy) and petition, blessing (and the benedictions), are the three elements common to the worship of the Jewish and Christian communities. The abiding element in this common heritage finds its basis here: the living word in the assembled congregation with the two constituents essential to that life, proclamation of the word and response to the word (cf. Luther's definition of worship).

On the Periphery of the Pericopes

The differences do not originate in differing interpretations of the Old Testament; in both Judaism and Christianity they have their roots in the different place the Old Testament occupies in worship. While in the synagogue it is only the Old Testament that is read, in Christian worship the reading of the Old Testament has, from the very beginning, occupied a quite modest place far out on the periphery of the fixed pericopes. In the "ancient system" of pericopes there is not a special column for the Old Testament, alongside the Gospels and Epistles. Only very seldom is the Epistle for the day taken from the Old Testament. Liturgically, such a reading, deriving from the *Old Testament*, really has no place in the main service of worship. At times the rigidity of this situation has been considerably relaxed; and, much later, a series of Old Testament readings or preaching texts was set up. The Reformers particularly placed special emphasis upon the reading and exposition of the Old Testament. But, in principle, all this in no way alters the fact that from the beginning the Old Testament as such has not had a fixed and clearly defined place in Christian worship. It is here that the most important difference between the fortunes of the Old Testament in the Jewish and Christian communities is to be found. For the same reason it was never possible in the Christian community for an intimacy with the personalities of the Old Testament to arise comparable to that found in the Jewish community, nor anything comparable to the way in which the Jewish community is at home in the world of the Old Testament—its language, its way of thinking, the atmosphere it breathes.

Without passing any judgments, this must simply be put down as a fact: although from the beginning up to the present day the Old Testament has been handed down in the church as Holy Scripture, its importance for Christian worship comes nowhere near that of the New Testament. The church's actual lection is the New Testament. This fact is first seen in its true light when one recalls that in worship oral tradition unquestionably takes precedence over written tradition. Suppose that a Protestant church had followed out Harnack's appeal to abolish the Old Testament as holy scriptures of the Christian church. It would have been quite possible for a church member who regularly attended services to see no evidence of the act whatsoever—for such an act would necessitate no striking changes in the pericopes, sermons or prayers.

Significant departures from this situation I find only at two places. One is the early church. Up to about the time of the formation of the New Testament canon, the Old Testament still occupied a commanding role in Christian worship. The first sermons of the apostles are without exception sermons on the Old Testament, and the preaching of the gospel among its first hearers, the Jews, was exposition of the Old Testament. Worthy of particular note is that in Stephen's sermon in Acts 7 it is the *totality* of the history recounted in the Old Testament—not merely a single passage or a series of passages—which is important for the proclamation of the gospel.

Among the Reformers the Old Testament again came to occupy a commanding role. There is a difference from one branch of the Reformation churches to another. In the Reformed churches, particularly in the English free churches influenced by Calvin, the new significance given the Old Testament by the Reformers has lingered on longer than in the Lutheran churches.

Consecutive vs. Pericopic Readings

Hardly any attention has been paid to the second difference, but it is of no less significance than the first. The most important of the readings in the synagogue, the reading of the Torah (i.e., the Pentateuch), is consecutive (*lectio continua*). In the early Jewish community in Palestine it took three years to go through the entire Pentateuch (divided into 154 or 167 pericopes), in Babylon one year (54 pericopes). The conclusion of the old and the beginning of the new cycle of readings on the last day of the Festival of Sukkoth (Tabernacles) was marked by a celebration; the day itself has the name *simḥath tôrāh*, "joy of the Torah."³ At a very early date in the history of the church, however, the *propers*, selected in accordance with the church year, replaced the *lectiones continuæ* which were relegated to the minor services. A residue survives only in the reading of the passion narrative during Lent.

Moreover, the fact that the standard pericopes are readings from the New Testament, not from the Old, has meant a significant change in what the church has actually heard from the whole Bible and the way it has interpreted the Bible. The totality of the church year—a cyclical totality—took precedence over the totality of the Bible as consecutive history. It is a simple matter to demonstrate that consecutive readings do greater justice to the Bible as a whole than do readings of *propers*. In their worship services the Reformers allotted consecutive readings (of preaching texts) an important place alongside the regular pericopes. Unfortunately this custom later fell into desuetude.

The fact that in their worship services Christian congregations have been confronted by the Bible fragmented into pericopes isolated from their contexts, and not by the contexts themselves, has influenced deeply their under-

³ These details are taken from Elbogen's article "Synagogaler Gottesdienst" in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed., Vol. II, col. 1327 ff.

standing of the Bible as a whole. Through the *lectio continua* (which apparently goes back to worship forms in early Israel) the Jewish community has from its beginnings known its Bible as a connected history; here God's word is essentially and primarily the account of a series of events, the recapitulation of which constitutes the heart of worship. In its worship services the Jewish congregation traces God's way with his people. It is something substantially different when in its worship services the Christian congregation, following the pericopes, makes its way through the church year. A text loosed from its context and oriented to the church year leads both preacher and hearer to inquire after the chief *thoughts* in the text; while one read and heard in the context of a history leads, quite of itself, to the question, "What is *taking place* in this text?" Of course Jewish worship too has festivals in the yearly cycle, which developed from the ancient harvest festivals. But the *lectio continua* constitutes a momentous counterpoise.

The Pentateuch vs. Prophecies

Insofar as the Old Testament has had any place at all in Christian worship, preaching on Old Testament texts has served either to point directly to Christ, by interpreting the text as a predictive prophecy, or to treat various points of Christian doctrine on the basis of individual statements in the text. The biblical history in the Old Testament, i.e. the simple account of what took place, of God's acts on behalf of his people, has in itself played only a very limited role in Christian worship. It has had a place in the teaching of the young, in Bible class, in written tradition—but hardly in the church's focal point, its service of worship. One of the chief reasons is that there has been no *lectio continua*.

Now when the Old Testament is read in the synagogue, a distinction is made between the two divisions of the canon. The chief reading is from the Pentateuch; the lesser reading, much shorter than the other, is from the prophets. Underlying this practice is, first, the historical fact that the Pentateuch is the matrix of the canon, and, second, the definitely greater value placed upon the Pentateuch by the Jews who regard the law as the heart of the Pentateuch. In the Christian church, prophetic texts—not the prophets as a whole, now, but individual predictive prophecies—have from the beginning had a significance setting them off from the rest of the Old Testament (during Advent, e.g.). Even historical texts, like Genesis 3:15, the so-called "protoevangel," or texts from the Psalter, like Psalms 2 and 24, have been reckoned among these "prophecies." In this differing emphasis upon different parts of the Old Testament, manifested already in the worship practices of Christians and Jews, we encounter the fundamental differences which make the Old Testament in the church and the synagogue almost two different books. We shall return to a closer examination of these differences in part three, on teaching.

On Preaching from the Old Testament

In closing this section on the place of the Old Testament in worship, we should at least look briefly at Christian preaching on the Old Testament. Down to the present day there is still great uncertainty about the question of how one can preach a Christian sermon on an Old Testament text. Here we venture to tackle only *one* side of this problem, namely, how the Old Testament can be transmitted and appropriated through preaching. And here I would say that the simpler the presentation of an Old Testament text to a congregation, the more directly it is explained on the basis of its own context, the less one attempts to give it a Christian reinterpretation, the greater the possibility that such a sermon will be a vehicle of genuine, living tradition, the sooner will that particular biblical story accompany the hearers out of the church into their lives. The preacher should not stand nervously before the text, in a continual fret about how he will give it a correct Christian or christological interpretation. He should put confidence in the fact that his text stands in the context of the *whole* Bible and his sermon in the total framework of a service which is in itself a confession of Christ. There is no need for the preacher to establish the relation of the text to Christ. The more frantic his attempt to do so, the less credible it will be for the ordinary hearer. One might take as his example Luther's paraphrase of Isaiah 6 in our hymnals, "Isaiah, mighty seer in days of old"—it is a simple retelling of the story.⁴

II

The Old Testament in the Family

I can make only a few, quite inadequate remarks here. I would only call attention to the fact that the family, as one context for the transmission of the Old Testament, is of much greater significance than is generally assumed. Studies of the subject are still so few as to amount to nothing.

In the Old Testament itself the people are well aware of this mode of transmission and regard it highly; I need only point to the frequent recurrence in Deuteronomy of the expression, "When your son asks you...." In Judaism the family has from the beginning played a very important role in the process of tradition. A particularly beautiful and particularly impressive example from a very early time is the Book of Tobit. One can safely say that among the Jewish people the worship of the congregation is, to a particularly high degree, open to the life of the family. This is true especially of the entrance of the Sabbath, which is celebrated in the family, and of the Passover which from earliest times has been a family festival.

⁴ I would call attention to a collection of sermons on the Old Testament edited by myself, *Verkündigung des Kommen* (Munich: Christian Kaiser, 1958), particularly to the introduction and to the footnotes to the sermons on the three parts of the canon.

In addition, however, the suffering of the Jewish people through the centuries has given to the process of tradition within the family circle its importance, its necessity, its dignity. Without this mode of transmission, the existence of congregations of believing Jews in times of persecution is inconceivable.

With the expected variations from one age and clime to another, the small size of Jewish congregations and their exclusiveness also made it possible to allot a larger place in the worship service to important events in the family than was generally possible in the Christian folk churches.

In the Christian community the significance of the family for the transmission of God's word has generally not been so great. An important exception, in addition to the early church, is again the age of the Reformation and the movements it inspired, down to Pietism and Anglican Puritanism where the significance of the Old Testament in the family is shown by the great number of first names taken from the Old Testament as well as by many other things. In the pietistic movements and in the revivals, the family again acquired something of the ancient character of the oldest cultic unit, the church in the home. In the process of tradition in Judaism one vital factor in the special importance of the family will be found in the simple fact that in the stories of the patriarchs in Gen. 12-50 the actual arena of God's action is the family. But Gen. 12-50 is also a part of the Bible of *Christendom*! On this point some searching introspection on the part of the Christian church is in order. The activities in the normal Christian congregation of today are not likely to give to the family the significance it ought to have, according to the Bible, as a bearer of tradition.

III

The Old Testament in Jewish and Christian Teaching

To define my terms, by "teaching" (*Lehre*) I mean not primarily "objective" teaching, i.e. what has been or is being taught, but primarily the actual process of teaching, which embraces all the teaching functions of a community.

Prophecies that are no Prophecies

In part one we found the most important difference between Christians and Jews to lie in their different emphasis upon different parts of the Old Testament. This decisive point, where Jewish and Christian understanding of the Old Testament diverges, deserves special attention. The Jewish community locates the Old Testament's center of gravity in the Pentateuch; the focal point of the latter it finds in the law, which also gives its name to the whole. The Christian community locates that center of gravity in "prophecies," which are interpreted as referring to Christ and which are found primarily in the prophets.

This apparently simple contrast must immediately be delimited, however, and even corrected. "Law" is a very inadequate rendering of the Hebrew *tôrāh*. We cannot go into the whole problematics of the concept "law," except to say that "Torah," the traditional Jewish name for the Pentateuch, must on no account be equated with Paul's concept of "law" (*nomos*). "Law" must also not be interpreted as a sum of commandments; indeed, "law" and "commandment" differ in nature and origin. The Hebrew concept of *tôrāh* has a long and complicated history. Originally it was neither law nor commandment, but God's instructing, more specifically, his one-time instruction in a particular situation. Hence when in the Jewish community the Pentateuch is referred to as the Torah, that says that the heart of these five books is not primarily an inanimate law book at man's disposal, but a history proceeding from God's instruction and determined by it.

The Christian community, insofar as it reads the Old Testament and preaches from it in its worship service, finds the book's center of gravity in "prophecies" which it interprets as referring to Christ. This concept of "prophecy" is problematical in the extreme, however.⁵ Again we can only touch on the problematics. In interpreting these so-called "prophecies," Christian congregations, down almost to the present day, have given attention to only one side of these texts (Ps. 2 is an example): these passages *predicted* long ago, in fact centuries ago, what was later to be fulfilled in and with Christ. But little or no attention was paid to the other side of these texts: what they meant when they were first uttered, to the people to whom they were addressed. The textual as well as the historical context of such a "prophecy" was relatively or even totally unimportant for the congregation in attendance; each prophecy, whether in Genesis, Malachi or Psalms, was referred directly and immediately to the point of its fulfillment. The contexts were thereby forced into the background, and, hence, in the church's preaching receded almost or completely from view.

The findings of Old Testament scholars in the last hundred years made clear that this "predictive prophecy" view of the Old Testament and the thoroughly unhistorical interpretation connected with it were no longer tenable. It was necessary to recognize in the first place that the promises given the patriarchs and the people of Israel were, first, promises *within* the Old Testament and *within* Israel. The arch of promise in Exodus 3 stretches *not* from Exodus 3 directly to Christ, but from Egypt to Israel's attainment of the Promised Land. Upon the fulfillment of that promise a new one is given which is turned by the prophets into its opposite, the announcement of judgment. Only after this pronouncement has been fulfilled and the judgment executed does the promise referring to Christ finally spring up. As far as referring the *whole* of the Old

⁵ Cf. the articles in *Evangelische Theologie*, Vol. 12 (1952/1953); also F. Baumgärtel, *Verheissung: Zur Frage des evangelischen Verständnisses des Alten Testaments* (Gütersloh, 1952), and *Vergegenwärtigung: Aufsätze zur Auslegung des Alten Testaments* (Berlin, 1955), which also contains reprints of the articles in *Evangelische Theologie*. A number of additional articles on the subject have also appeared in the same journal from 1953-1958.

Testament to Christ is concerned, this interpretation of prophecy as a *history* of promise, deeply interwoven with the history of the people Israel, takes Israel's path from the exodus into the postexilic period more seriously and regards it as of greater significance *as such* than most previous Christian traditions of the Old Testament have done.

On this point the Jewish community is confronted with precisely the same difficulty. God's instruction (*tôrah*), which Jews look upon as the heart of the Pentateuch, is today regarded in Old Testament research everywhere, whether by Jews, Christians or pagans, as something that gradually developed in the course of history. There are only two alternatives: reject completely historical research in the Old Testament, or confront, in some way, the reading and exposition of Scripture in the worship service with the historical approach.

The latter is done in Franz Rosenzweig's excellent little essay on "The Unity of the Bible: A Debate with Orthodoxy and Liberalism."⁶ He begins:

We differ from Orthodoxy in not being able to deduce from our belief in the Torah's holiness (i.e. its unique position) and from our belief in its revelatory character any conclusions either about its literary origins or the philological value of the text which has come down to us. If all of Wellhausen's theories were correct, and if the Samaritans really were in possession of the better text, that would not affect our faith in the least.... It seems to me that in saying our readiness, in principle, to make philological textual emendations is neutralized by a philological anxiety equally fundamental, and that in saying we have a growing distrust of the hypothetical element essential to all scholarship, we are dealing with a superficial rather than a fundamental factor.

Thus, when a Jewish teacher of Scripture is engaged, as a member of the community of Jewish believers, in historical study of the Old Testament, the original difference from which we set out emerges much more sharply in any subsequent discussions between Jewish and Christian scholars. Under these conditions we must take into account the historical factors involved in the formation of the Old Testament tradition and ask: Did the Pentateuch grow out of the Torah, God's instruction, as out of its core and origin? Or was it only in the course of tradition that the Torah became the concept governing the whole of the Pentateuch?

God Who Acts

To this question Protestant research in the last few decades has come up with the answer: the origin and the core of the whole pentateuchal tradition is the confessional recital of God's acts, of something that "happened." At its core the Pentateuch is a recital of God's acts. The act of God making for himself a people was an act of deliverance; to this act the delivered respond with a song of jubilant praise. This song of recitatory praise is expanded into a narration, first, of God's initial acts (the deliverance at the Sea of Reeds),

⁶ In Buber and Rosenzweig, *Die Schrift und ihre Verdeutschung* (Berlin, 1936).

and then of a series of acts which stretch from a word of promise to its fulfillment. The response of God's people to these acts is always twofold in form: praise and service. And only here, when the response of service has been *given*, is the commandment of God, his instruction, added: God reveals to his people *how* they can serve him, he reveals to them his commandments (Ex. 19 ff.).

God's first word as the Pentateuch relates it is the announcement of deliverance, the word of promise (Ex. 3:8 f.). His commandment, the instruction, is then added. The conclusion of the covenant is the union of God's promises ("I will be your God") with the people's obedience ("and you shall be my people"). Right at this point, when discussing the clearest and most important difference between Jewish and Christian understanding of the Pentateuch, I should like to point out that even here one occasionally comes across a certain distant parallelism in the way each party interprets the Pentateuch. Thus the quotation from Franz Rosenzweig continues:

We too translate the Torah as though it were one book. For us too it is the work of a single mind. Who it was, we do not know; that it was Moses we cannot believe. Among us he goes by the designation which critical scholarship has assigned to the man assumed to be the final redactor: "R." But we finish the word, not to "redactor," but to *rabbenu*. For whoever he was, and whatever he had to work with, to us he is "our teacher" and his theology is our teaching.

To be understood these aptly-put and oft-quoted remarks must be seen in their context in the history of Old Testament research. For a long time historico-critical scholarship had run on a single track, "source analysis," and in the process had virtually lost sight of the Pentateuch as a whole. In a healthy reaction against this unilinear development, scholars once again began to make earnest inquiry after the whole.

An essay published by von Rad in 1938, "The Form-critical Problem of the Hexateuch,"⁷ proceeds from just this situation. The essay made a particularly deep impression upon a great deal of Old Testament research. Von Rad wrote:

[Previous] methods of research succeeded... in separating us, steadily and irresistibly, from the final (and present) form of the text. A process of dissolution, which while certainly of interest on almost every hand was nonetheless a process of dissolution on a grand scale, had run its course; and the vague or even certain knowledge that the process was irreversible is today crippling many.... Virtually everywhere the final form of the Hexateuch has been made the point of departure, worthy itself of no special treatment, to be left behind as quickly as possible in order to get at the *real*, underlying problems....

What [the Hexateuch] relates of the creation of the world or the call of Abraham up to the conclusion of the conquest of Palestine under Joshua is *Heilsgeschichte*. One could also call it a credo recapitulating the chief dates in the history of salvation.... The answering of this question [of the line leading from the credo to the fully completed Pentateuch] would have this advantage, that it would be an organic and theological continuation of research... leading us back once again to the final form of the Hexateuch.

⁷ First published in *Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament*, 4. Folge, Heft 26; now available in von Rad's *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament* (Munich: Christian Kaiser, 1958).

Even if Rosenzweig's and von Rad's approaches lead to different results, there can be no doubt that they move on common ground. This approach makes it possible to address to Jewish tradition the very simple question, deriving from an impartial reading of the text: Does the history recounted in the Pentateuch not say unequivocally that God's first word bringing him into relation with his people was a word of promise? that his instruction was then added to the action set in motion by the promise and its fulfillment? These facts are so clear and inescapable that when they are acknowledged a distinct *rapprochement* of Jewish and Christian exegesis is occasionally discernible. Take this sentence from Martin Buber's *Der Glaube der Propheten* (Zürich, 1950, p. 71):

What is here preserved must not be regarded as a historicized myth or cult drama, nor as the transference of something originally timeless into the sphere of history. A great historical faith does not come into being through reinterpreting the extra-historical. It arises from the experience as of a "miracle"—i.e. a fact grasped only in the sphere of divine acts—of an event that takes place.... We confess what took place.

Buber is here speaking of God's initial act of deliverance, his view of which is not essentially different from the Christian treatment of it outlined above. Moreover, Buber takes issue with another interpretation of these events by the so-called "cultic" school of Old Testament scholarship,⁸ a critique in which he is joined by the group of scholars holding to the view of the formation of the Pentateuch sketched above.

Subordination of Prophecy to Law?

On the whole, despite these points of contact the essential difference remains: in Jewish exegesis the Pentateuch is properly and essentially law (Buber's translation entitles it "The Books of Instruction"), while in Christian exegesis it is properly and essentially the account of God's deeds on behalf of his people.

This difference also accounts for the differing views of prophecy. In Jewish interpretation of Scripture, prophecy—corresponding to its place in worship—is subordinated to the law. In contrast, Christian, and especially Protestant, Old Testament research must admit to laying overly much, at times even a dangerous amount of stress on prophecy. This stress is traceable to a concealed or open application of the evolutionary concept to Old Testament history. This approach sought to array all the Old Testament writings along a *unilinear* scale of development stretching from the primitive beginnings to the heights of religious spirituality. All camps of Old Testament scholarship are today at one in rejecting this unilinear pattern of development. This revision is also in a certain sense and up to a certain point a drawing near to the Jewish understanding of the Old Testament. Up to a certain point: the Old Testament taken

⁸ Cf. my brief article "Kultgeschichtliche Schule und Kultgeschichtliche Methode und AT," in *RGK*, 3rd ed., now in publication.

as a whole does not allow prophecy to be subordinated to the law. Recent Protestant research has in a series of studies demonstrated emphatically that the prophets did not found a new spiritual religion, that they were instead deeply rooted in the traditions and institutions of their people. Their purpose was *not* to bring their people a new revelation. Rather they accuse Israel of having departed from the commandments of God delivered to her and known, yes, well-known, to her; they charge her with having failed to respond in obedience to his great deeds. On this point there is no essential difference between Jewish and Christian understanding of prophecy, as Buber's book mentioned above shows especially. I agree with Hans-Joachim Kraus⁹ when he nevertheless finds in Buber a different understanding of prophecy which sees it as essentially a continuation of God's instruction of his people:

... God addresses his messenger, the *nabi*, and through him his people. Through him He imparts ever and again His instruction (*tôrāh*), his guidance....¹⁰

The major portion of the prophetic words that have come down to us are words of judgment in which the prophets appear as messengers announcing to the people, on the basis of a specific indictment, God's sentence upon them. Naturally Buber knows this and says as much at other places; and in contrast to Kraus's view set forth in the article cited above, I believe that Buber's unmistakable tendency to interpret prophecy on the basis of the Torah must be placed over against the important fact that he can entitle his *overall* presentation of Israel's faith "the prophetic faith." This shows quite clearly that Buber regards prophecy as being of central significance for the total history of Israel's faith and that Buber himself wants tacitly to counteract the danger present in his own Jewish tradition of a mere subordination of prophecy to the law.

Thus in the present Jewish and Christian views of prophecy at least the possibility of a *rapprochement* emerges along with the clear differences that have their source in the center of each faith.

The Messianic Question

An unmistakable antithesis is found at only one point: the answer given to the question of the Messiah announced in the Old Testament, the Jewish community disputing the Christian community's claim that Jesus of Nazareth is that Messiah. By and large the antithesis has not undergone any change since the days of the apostles. Nor can one say that the controversies on this point have altered the original antithesis any. Nevertheless, today there is at least one point where a revision can be brought to bear by the Christian side which may help to clarify the positions.

⁹ "Gespräch mit M. Buber," in *Evangelische Theologie*, vol. 12, 1952/1953, p. 59 ff.

¹⁰ M. Buber, *op. cit.* p. 8, quoted in Kraus, p. 71.

Christians have very frequently spoken of "scriptural proof," in the sense of a proof derived from Scripture of the claim that Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah. The term "scriptural proof" is not found in the Bible itself, either as a verb or as a noun. It is so misleading in itself that without precise definition it should not be used at all. It is impossible to adduce proof in the sense of an ineluctable rational demonstration—in some way analagous, however remotely, to a mathematical proof—that Jesus of Nazareth is the promised Messiah of Israel and as such the savior of the world. This must be clearly stated without any reservations. Otherwise faith in this Jesus of Nazareth would not be true faith and confession of him would not be true confession. The contention, let us say, that by the "servant" in the Servant Songs of Deutero-Isaiah Jesus of Nazareth is intended is quite beyond the bounds of scholarly proof. The equation of Jesus of Nazareth with the Servant of Isaiah 53 has the character, unconditionally and necessarily, of a confession, a testimony of faith. This fact puts a bound to every controversy.

Moreover, it is maintained in most, but not all, quarters of Protestant biblical scholarship that we can no longer operate with the exegetical methods—employed to some extent especially by Paul and in Hebrews—which refer an Old Testament passage to Jesus of Nazareth as the Christ.

To single out a few favorite examples, in 1 Cor. 14:21 Paul applies to speaking with tongues Is. 28:11 f., which says that God will deliver Israel into the hands of peoples speaking foreign tongues; and in Heb. 2:6-8 the temporary humiliation of the Christ is supported by Ps. 8:5-7, a passage which praises the Creator for endowing man with such great honor.¹¹ That is to say: every time the New Testament quotes a passage from the Old, that does not mean that present Christian New Testament exegesis is bound to the New Testament's interpretation and application of that passage. Contemporary exegesis can interpret these passages only in their original sense and according to their original context. That clarifies and unburdens Jewish-Christian discussions of the Old Testament considerably. When the question of Jesus as the Messiah is raised in such discussions today, there is no longer any profit in employing arguments that rely upon isolated passages torn from context. The larger contexts and the Old Testament as a whole must form the subject of discussion.

We cannot here go into the history of exegesis in both traditions. Suffice it to say that none of the exegetical methods can be said to have been the property of only one tradition. The allegorical method used for so long in the Christian church derives from Hellenistic Judaism and from Philo in particular. The beginnings of the critico-historical interpretation of the Bible emerge for the first time on a large scale in Spinoza, who was expelled from the Jewish community. And so the lines run back and forth through the whole history of exegesis.

¹¹ Cf. here Rudolf Bultmann, "Weissagung und Erfüllung," in *Vergegenwärtigung* (v. supra), p. 66 ff., and in English translation in Bultmann's *Essays Philosophical and Theological*, pp. 182-208.

Today it is almost universally recognized by both Christians and Jews that in the total process of the transmission of the Old Testament, each side owes a substantial debt to the other. Christian scholars today have the highest esteem for the Jews' prodigious work in the fixing and transmitting of the text during the first centuries. And even while often rejecting the results, Jewish scholars of the 19th and 20th centuries recognize as a significant era in Old Testament research the period from about the middle of the 18th century to the present when, especially in the Protestant church, scholarship did its total, comprehensive work in the Old Testament. To cite a typical example, H. J. Schoeps in his *Jüdischer Glaube in dieser Zeit* (Berlin, 1932) prefaced his sketch of Jewish teaching with a section entitled "History of the Protestant Discipline 'Old Testament Theology,'" "since we can appropriate a great number of the insights of Christian scholars and since in Jewish quarters, by comparison, very little has been done toward solving these problems" (p. 6).

Fundamentalists and Liberals

Today the greatest antithesis in the interpretation of the Bible exists between the groups which shut themselves off, on principle and all down the line, from the historico-critical approach and thus insist, e.g., that *all* of Israel's laws were dictated to Moses by God on Sinai, or that all five books of the Pentateuch were written by Moses. Adherents of this fundamentalist exegesis are found both among Jews and Christians.

Opposing the fundamentalist and orthodox stream of exegesis among Christians and Jews, there is on both sides—or can one say today already *was*?—an extreme liberal one which wanted to do nothing but scientific exegesis of documents of a religion while rejecting rigorously all categories of faith or confession. The extreme forms of this liberal exegesis are familiar enough from the history of Protestant Old Testament research. A very similar example from Jewish research can also be cited. In the fifth volume of the journal *Der Morgen*, L. Feuchtwanger published in three installments an essay entitled "Some Basic Considerations on Old Testament Research." He contrasts the almost complete lack of Jewish work in the field of Old Testament scholarship and the "widespread, uninterrupted, at times very intensive and imposing concentration on this whole area by non-Jewish scholars, especially by both Christian faculties." He traces the "low degree of Jewish participation in scientific biblical research" to "the general attitude of the three main streams" of Judaism, Orthodoxy, Liberalism and Zionism. As the two single exceptions, but standing wholly outside the teaching tradition of their people, he names Spinoza and Abraham Geiger, and gives a brief description of their research. But then he steers resolutely away from Jewish research (p. 183):

By contrast, since 1850 European scholarship has continued its unerring advance in the fields of comparative religion, Semitic philology, the history of the ancient Orient and

archeology. This has meant a complete transformation of the goals of Old Testament research.

There follows a presentation of Old Testament research measured against the criterion of absolute scholarship [*Wissenschaftlichkeit*], which excludes on principle the existence side by side of Jewish, Roman Catholic and Protestant work in the Old Testament. There is a quite different ring to Rosenzweig's words (in the passage I quoted earlier) about "a growing distrust of the hypothetical element essential to all scholarship." Behind this distrust stands a convulsion into which history had plunged both Jewish and Christian research. Both sides underwent experiences which are now irrevocable and which shattered the old belief in absolute scholarship. On this point let me again quote a few apt and lucid sentences from the essay by Rosenzweig:

When scholarship and religion deliberately ignore one another but are yet cognizant of one another, neither amounts to much.... No honest person can pray to a God whom he feels compelled to deny as a scholar.... The world, i.e. that which scholarship takes as its object of investigation, has been created by God....

The import of these sentences from the pen of a Jewish scholar would today be affirmed by most Christian biblical scholars. Between the extreme orthodox and extreme liberal research to be found among both Christians and Jews, there are so many nuances on both sides that it would be idle to go into a comparison of particulars. Between the two extremes Jewish as well as Christian exegesis of the Old Testament has found that when the interpretation of the Bible in the congregation is cut off from historical research a dangerous torpidity can result in which that interpretation loses all its missionary force. Both sides have found that to seal off biblical exegesis, away from the stream of tradition in the community of believers, in a sphere of supposedly absolute scholarship is to place it on a foundation which can suddenly crumble and give way.¹²

The fact that the *translation* of the Old Testament stands at the heart of the joint work of Buber and Rosenzweig is symptomatic. Translation—in the profound sense—is regarded as unnecessary by extreme Orthodoxy and as impossible by extreme Liberalism. In this work of translation the concern was, and is, that the Old Testament should become direct address, accosting the man of today where and as he is.¹³ Fully recognizing the antithesis that still remains, we maintain that here lies the truly common element in the question of the Messiah: in the passionate efforts on both this side and that to let Him who speaks in this book to speak also to the people of our day.

¹² I refer the reader to Walter Zimmerli's review of the new edition of Baeck's *Das Wesen des Judentums in Sammlung*, 1955.

¹³ Cf. here the first essay in Buber's and Rosenzweig's *Die Bibel und ihre Verdeutschung*, "Der Mensch von heute und die jüdische Bibel." It is no coincidence when Zimmerli combines sermons and scholarly studies in one volume which he entitles *Das Alte Testament als Anrede* (Munich: Christian Kaiser, 1956).

The New State of Israel

In conclusion, I can only point out that the establishment of the new state of Israel has produced a wholly new situation in regard to the question that concerns us here. The Old Testament has again become the book of a people; it is taught in the schools and from it the younger generation is learning the history of its people. There is no Christian country on earth where this book is known so universally and so thoroughly as among the people of the new state of Israel. The language of this book has been called to life and the word *shalôm*, which in the sense of "salvation" or "peace" is of such great significance in the Old and New Testaments, is the word most frequently heard in this land for it is the daily salutation.

It is clear that the young state is giving special attention to the Old Testament. In the philosophical faculty of Hebrew University it has its own discipline and professorships.

Israeli archeology has a prominent part in the excavations to throw light on the pre-history of the Old Testament, and we have difficulty understanding the degree of interest evinced by the people in this research.

In August, 1957, the second World Congress for the Study of Judaism took place in Jerusalem. The first and largest section had as its theme "The Bible." It was my privilege to be present at the congress, and I was deeply impressed by the fact that this section was attended by scholars not only from countries in all parts of the world but also of different faiths: Jews, Protestant and Roman Catholic Christians, and professed atheists. In Israel the Old Testament is read and studied by Orthodox and Liberals, members of the synagogue and unbelievers.

It is still too early to predict what this totally new situation will mean for the future history and research of the Old Testament. In any case it can be said already now that the new state has become a new home for the intensive study of the book and that Old Testament scholarship has found a new abode from which we can expect a great deal.

The New Testament and the Preaching of the Church

KRISTER STENDAHL

THE IDEAL SERMON is the situation in which the word of God cuts into men's lives with the precision and the relevance required by the ultimate reality and the eternal relevance of God. Whatever the form of the sermon—topical or expository, kerygmatic or didactic, traditional or experimental—the message should be that of the Scriptures. We do not speak about the text, we let the text speak.

To Make Relevant and to Find the Relevance

There has often been a tension, however, between the faithfulness to the text and the relevance to the actual situation of the church. Much "relevance" has been achieved by more or less ridiculous applications. It was certainly felt quite relevant when a minister of the 18th century, in the enlightened mood of hygienic city planning, preached on the Widow's Son in Nain under the topic "On the Advantage of Having the Cemetery Outside the City," or when the rural congregations were urged to cultivate more potatoes since Jesus said that man does not live by bread alone. Yet, such examples strike us as almost sacrilegious, but they are, on principle, not far removed from what is often done in more "spiritual" sermons. The question is whether we *make* the text relevant by tagging on our own application, or if we are willing to dig down to the original relevance of the text itself and to find in it the key to our sermon. The preacher who is over-anxious to make his sermons relevant may well doubt—consciously or unconsciously—the relevance of what the text actually has to say. Or we may see it the other way: since the text is *a priori* relevant, being the word of God, the preacher is inclined to think that what he feels to be relevant must be the message of the text.

Generalization and Maximum Depth

In this respect the rule of "generalization" and the rule of "maximum depth" deserve our attention. Take the story of the Rich Young Man to whom Jesus said: "One thing you lack still: go and sell all that you have. . . ." The preacher, conscious of this being the word of God, is inclined to make this story relevant to everyone—how could it be otherwise with the word of God? But the preacher is also aware of the fact that this command cannot be for everyone—who would be able to buy if that were so? Hence he capitalizes on the phrase "one thing you lack" and points out that this "one thing" is not necessarily possessions but may well be something else which has to be straightened out in our lives

before any spiritual progress can be made. But by such generalization, in the interest of paramount relevance, he breaks off the sharp point of this evangelic needle. Should he not rather place himself and his congregation under the question: Does this speak to you—just as it stands—or does it not?

To turn this text into a generalizing platitude (there is always something in our lives about which it can be said: this is the next thing to do) is to emasculate it. It may seem strange that we could stand under the word and say: This is not for me. But that is the only way in which this text can be left alive.* To answer: Of course it is for me—taken in a generalized sense—is no help to man and no honor to God, nor does it produce in each age those St. Francis-souls which God needs in this world. In short: paramount relevance, achieved by generalization, is apt to lead away from the text and to veil its message.

More common and harder to detect are the workings of the rule of "maximum depth." It is also based on a recognition of the text as the word of God. Hence its depth of meaning is infinite. This is certainly a true statement in a certain sense, yet it can lead to many glorious but untrue interpretations. The classical example is perhaps the famous words in Phil. 2:12-13: "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling, for God is at work in you. . . ." This is often presented as one of those paradoxes which make Paul a great theologian. But if we read the text in its context, the antithesis is not between what man does and what God does, but it says that the Philippians were doing well while Paul was with them as the coach of their salvation work, and now there is no reason or excuse for their falling behind when he is absent, for God is present as the true and superior coach. This is a good deal less paradoxical, and while the problem of synergism is a fascinating and essential chapter of Christian theology, this text can only be made relevant to it by secondary implication. It was at least not the problem to which Paul was addressing himself at this point in Philippians. Thus it appears that the rule of maximum depth may be a rather misleading one. It may well be rooted in a true awareness of the texts as the word of God, but that very presupposition can lead us astray from careful and patient listening to the text. The intention to honor God and his word leads to the same kind of deviation as does the rule of generalization. It makes the text yield something else than its writer intended to bring as the message. Hence it is on principle not so far from the cemetery and potato superficialities of the 18th century. It sounds a bit deeper and more serious, but is yet removed from the text.

* Cf. Luther's comment, which also has bearing on the *ad hoc* character, dealt with below: "One must handle and deal with Scripture soberly. The Word originally came into being in many different ways. One must not only observe if it is God's Word, or if God has spoken it, but also to whom it is spoken. Does it concern you or someone else? Here is a distinction like that between summer and winter. God said many things to David, he commanded him to do this and that. But it does not apply to me, it has not been spoken to me. He could well have it speak to me, if he wanted it so. You must observe the word which concerns you, that which is spoken to you and does not concern someone else. There are two kinds of Word in the Scripture. The one does not apply to me, nor does it concern me. The other does concern me, and upon this one, which concerns me, I may venture boldly, and depend upon it as upon a strong rock. If it does not concern me, I must stand still. The false prophets come and say, Dear people, this is the Word of God! That is true, we cannot deny it, but we are not that people to which he speaks." From *Sermons on Genesis*, 1527; W.A. 24:12.

The Problem of the *ad hoc* Character of the Text

These observations lead us to consider the hermeneutic problem of the *ad hoc* character of every text. Words spoken in a specific situation, in answer to distinct questions, cannot be lifted out of their setting without discrimination. This fact makes the search for the *ipsissima verba* of Jesus a more complex one than we usually recognize, for even if we had the actual words intact—and in Aramaic—their meaning would depend on their context. One of the fruits of form-criticism is the awareness of the interplay between the sayings and their framework. Thus there is an interpretive element already in the gospels' treatment of the parables and the logia, interpretations behind which we can penetrate only with tentative conjectures. The preacher has to make it clear to himself whether he is actually preaching on the words of Jesus as understood by Matthew (where, e.g., the lost sheep is a lapsed disciple; Matt. 18:10-14), or as understood by Luke (where the lost sheep stands for the publicans and sinners; Luke 15:3-7), or on what he considers to be the original saying behind its interpretative setting, or on what he finds to be the more general common denominator which holds these two or more editions together. The different frames in the gospels may even give the preacher a hint as to laws by which a word of Jesus can become applicable to the needs of the church or of the world. But the awareness of the *ad hoc* nature of both sayings and contexts demands hermeneutic precision and calls for a clear distinction between what a saying meant—"originally," or at different stages and editions of the tradition within the New Testament—and what it means here and now.

If to Corinth, why to me?

The first more complete canonical list of New Testament books, the Canon Muratori (175 A.D.) sheds peculiar light on this problem from a slightly different angle. The Pauline epistles call for special treatment since they are explicitly directed to specific congregations. How can they then be received as the word of God to the church catholic? The Muratorian Canon overcomes this difficulty by pointing out that they are addressed to seven congregations as are the letters in Rev. 2-3; since the latter are contained in a writing which is a divine revelation, *expressis verbis*, it follows that Paul's epistles could and should be accepted. Few theologians today would argue for the status of Romans on the basis of the Book of Revelation, but when we meet this argument in the Canon Muratori, it points to a genuine hermeneutic problem which is too easily overlooked once the canon has received firmness and self-evident authority.

Heilsgeschichte and Timeless Truth

These problems of the *ad hoc* nature of the texts are obviously only specific and fundamental forms of the larger problems of the particular and the universal, a problem which in its theological form is centered in the nature of

historical revelation, and in the doctrine of election. From the point of view of preaching, it is of great importance to recognize this dimension of God's acting in history. Thereby the New Testament must be understood not as the depository of a collection of timeless truths or eternal principles. Nor is the historical character taken seriously if we regard history as the blackboard or the visual aids of God's educational program for mankind or for the church. If we say that the history of Jesus' dealings with his contemporaries leaves us with a pattern by which we can determine the nature of God's judgment and God's forgiveness, then we have only de-temporalized the history of salvation, and translated it into timeless truths.

The parable of the workers in the vineyard (Matt. 20:1-16) may well exemplify the problem before us, as it affects the task of preaching. In the case of parables such a timeless interpretation lies close at hand, but even the parables are, in the ministry of Jesus, vehicles of historical events and not teaching of wisdom in the tradition of the Book of Proverbs. Hence it would be correct to interpret this specific parable not as a warning against Christian phariseism but as a glorious reminder of the fact that all of us who are Gentiles according to the flesh belong to the group which came in at the last hour. A sermon on the dangers of Christian phariseism is already once removed from the parable itself, and should be considered as a meaning by implication, the validity of which cannot be tested on strictly exegetical grounds, except so far as it could be shown that the Matthean form or context intimates such a use of the parable in the Matthean church.

A radical acceptance of the history of salvation as the framework of New Testament thought then implies that many texts are rather the Magna Charta of our status as members of the people of God. We Gentiles, who were afar off, unrelated to the chosen people, have been brought nigh and become citizens and heirs to the promises of Israel. We have been made "honorary Jews," as Paul argues when he urges us to consider with due humility this our status as engrafted (Rom. 9-11). The rules by which God acts, judges, and saves have become radically changed in and through the appearance of the Messiah; the new option FAITH has been made available (Gal. 3:23).

Paul, Luther, and the Sermon Today

What we have given here is just a paraphrase of one of the main lines in Pauline theology. It is naturally a truism to state that the problem at the center of Paul's theology is that of the relation between Jews and Gentiles, both in terms of the function of the Law before and after Christ and in terms of actual tensions in the Pauline congregations. It has often been said that the total impact of Paul's thought did not hit the church at large before Augustine. While Paul is both honored and quoted by the earlier Fathers, a comprehensive grasp of Paul's thought, as we are used to understand it, is not to be found.

There are many reasons for this state of affairs. One should be mentioned in this connection: Paul was understood to be speaking about that which he actually did speak about, viz., the relation between Jews and Gentiles—and during the intervening centuries this was no burning theological problem. What brought Paul into focus in western Christianity was Augustine's application of what he understood to be the timeless implications of Pauline statements about Jews and Gentiles.

It is in this same tradition that Luther, in an even more comprehensive way, finds Paul to have the answer to the basic impasse of man's predicament. Luther—and with him the bulk of Protestantism—bases his interpretation of the New Testament on an ingenious hermeneutic act: the identification of the religious attitudes of the late Middle Ages with Paul's description of Judaism and the Judaizers in the middle of the first century.

The validity of this identification cannot be ultimately substantiated by exegesis. Much can be said in its favor and few, if any, later alternatives have reached a comparable degree of penetrating and creative insight. Yet it must be remembered that we could never say that Paul actually *meant* what Luther finds his words to mean. Thus the distinction between what a text meant to him who wrote it, and what it meant to the interpreter (Luther), is to be maintained and repeats itself in a less glorious form in the creative tension within every preacher as he prepares his sermon.

A "Bilingual" Approach

This state of the problem suggests what may be called the "bilingual" approach. There is no short cut by which the original meaning of a text and its implication for our present situation could be grasped in one existential glimpse. The preacher needs a command of biblical thought (not only in a linguistic sense) which allows him to move within the first century categories with idiomatic ease. He should be able to think as Paul and Mark and John thought, without any nervous anxiety for twentieth century relevance. He also needs the same competence in the "language" of his own time and setting. Only with such bilingual competence will he be able to communicate the message of his text. Only then will his preaching become "biblical" in a true sense and the text be allowed to cut into men's lives. Only then can he avoid that strange mixture of *words* which sound biblical and *thoughts* which are borrowed from what is popular in our own time, a strange Yiddish, which may be appreciated in our own ghetto, but communicates little to others. Only so can our preaching dig through the many layers of interpretations through the centuries and let the text speak directly to us. Only so can we avoid fighting all the many lost and won battles of church history over again, instead of letting the two-edged sword cut into our lives with drastic healing.

The Problem of Hermeneutics

in

Current Continental Philosophy and Theology

WERNER SCHULTZ

FOR ABOUT 50 YEARS the problem of hermeneutics has been moving to the center of attention in both philosophical and theological thought. From Greek antiquity up to that time the emphasis had been upon the act of perception of the natural sciences which had determined the world view of all the sciences by and large. Now, in the study of history and the liberal arts, understanding* was discovered as a new function to be taken into account. In the area of philosophy it received more precise definition in a science of hermeneutics through recourse to Schleiermacher, which meant, ultimately, that the definition was fashioned by the presuppositions of a pantheistic world view.¹ Of crucial importance for the doctrine of understanding in the area of theology, on the other hand, was the rediscovered hermeneutics of the young Luther. His hermeneutics is in turn intimately related to his experience of justification by faith which is in sharp antithesis to Greek thought and its pantheism. The result was two different forms of hermeneutics, the basic characteristics of which we shall attempt to put down in the pages that follow.

I

Philosophical Hermeneutics

The Significance of Dilthey

Without a doubt Nietzsche was a powerful factor in causing attention to be focused on the interpretation done in the process of understanding: "There are no events in themselves. What there is, is a group of phenomena brought together by an interpreting being."² Hence there are for Nietzsche no objects, only interpretations of objects. Man does not penetrate to actual reality. It is known to him only in the dim outlines afforded by his individual perspective and is always fettered to that perspective.

But it was Wilhelm Dilthey, a man with a clear awareness of the significance of the understanding for the humanities and for life in general, who was first led by the rediscovery of Schleiermacher's hermeneutics to a comprehensive science of understanding. A method centering around "understanding and

* Or "comprehension": *Verstehen*. (Translator)

¹ Cf. my article "Die Grundlagen der Hermeneutik Schleiermachers, ihre Auswirkungen und ihre Grenzen" (*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, 1953, No. 2).

² *Werke*, XIII, 64.

interpretation is the method proper to the humanistic sciences. All functions unite in the process of understanding and interpretation. Understanding embodies all the truths of those sciences. At every point understanding reveals a world."³ Dilthey therefore calls for a "critique of historical reason" to supplement Kant's critique of pure reason. For, he says, "in the face of the recurring invasion of the field of history by romantic arbitrariness and skeptical subjectivity," it is the chief task of hermeneutics "to establish the universal validity of interpretation, upon which all certainty in history rests."⁴

Not only was Dilthey a virtuoso when it came to the understanding of other persons,⁵ he also grasped the process of understanding itself with uncommon sensitivity. He saw that understanding presupposes a gift for intuition, as Schleiermacher had said; that it is an art, and that in the act of understanding the whole man must be involved—his thinking, his feeling, his will. The person seeking to understand must not, as Ranke advised, efface his own ego in order to let the matter itself speak. He wins access to the matter, says Dilthey, only by employing all his subjective powers, his feelings and his passions, even though that may increase the risk of an unjustified, subjective encroachment upon the object of understanding. To understand and to love are identical for Dilthey. To understand is to rediscover myself in you; it is the union of what is separated in the phenomenal world, it is a surrender, in the sense of Platonic eros, to the essence of the object.

It is true that in his hermeneutics Dilthey managed to break through the substance-phenomenon pattern of Greek thought. Above all he rendered the realm of history extremely fruitful for his hermeneutics, a realm which had remained totally foreign to Greek thought. The person seeking to understand is for him always a concrete person in a particular historical situation. He can understand history only because, and insofar as, he himself is a part of it. For him to step outside of history is impossible. "The finitude of every historical phenomenon—be it a religion, an ideal or a philosophical system—and consequently the relativity of every kind of human conception of the coherence of things, this is the final word of the historical world view: everything in the process of flux, nothing permanent..."⁶ All historical beliefs are conditioned by clime, race and circumstances. "Historical consciousness shows with increasing clarity the relativity of every metaphysical or religious doctrine..."⁷ These sentences signify an innovation in comparison to Greek thought as well as to Schleiermacher, who had only a very limited conception of the significance of historical consciousness for hermeneutics.

³ *Werke*, VII, 205.

⁴ *Ibid.*, V, 331.

⁵ Cf. here among other things his sensitive work on *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung*, 1913, or his biography of Schleiermacher, Vol. I, edited by Mulert, 1922.

⁶ *Werke*, V, 9.

⁷ *Ibid.*, VIII, 198.

Not Greek either is the emphasis Dilthey places on the individual. For the Greeks only the universal was of value. Dilthey, however, to an even greater degree than Schleiermacher, saw in the individual a meaningful unity. "Every life has its own meaning. That meaning lies in a coherence of meaning, in which every recallable present possesses its own worth. . . . This meaning of the individual existence is unique, inexplicable to knowledge and yet, like one of Leibniz's monads, epitomizing in its own way historical existence."⁸ As the understanding subject is always an individual, so the goal of understanding is to penetrate to the "mainspring," the "individuality of being."

The Whole and the Parts

Through his intensive concentration upon history and individuality Dilthey conducted hermeneutics into a new situation where it appeared on the scene as part of the general revolutionary movement of historicism. The basic presuppositions of his doctrine of understanding are nevertheless determined by the ancient substance-phenomenon pattern and its pantheistic foundations. He had to draw upon this pattern in order to evade the relativism that threatened his doctrine. Here he was also following the "affinity"* theory of Schleiermacher and his age: as like can only be perceived by like, so also like can only be understood by like. Understanding is possible only because there is in man a final stratum which is in all men the same. Dilthey at first called this stratum "life" and later, relying more heavily on Hegel, "spirit." As in Schleiermacher, hermeneutics is again dominated by the philosophical theorem of the whole and its parts. Man understands only because he is a part of an all-embracing whole. This was the pantheistic, this-worldly faith of Giordano Bruno, the first Earl of Shaftesbury, Goethe and—at its peak—Nietzsche. In this faith Dilthey put such credence that he could derive no positive meaning from the Reformation doctrine of justification by faith alone.⁹ It is the faith "in a spiritual coherence operative in the universe like a spiritual force, emanating in ambiguous, individual activity; [it is] a pantheism in affirmation of the world, experiencing the divine in the realization of an ideal in the world."¹⁰ Understanding is therefore an autonomous act at man's disposal, since he is himself a part of the divine which constitutes the ground of all individual being.

Yet special attention must be paid Dilthey's contention that understanding never completely grasps its object. There is no fully adequate understanding. The reason lies in the fact that life, the deepest stratum of all individuality, remains incomprehensible to both perception and understanding. Consequently the understanding subject remains so fettered to his historical situation and his own subjectivity that he cannot arrive at an unalloyed grasp of his object. In the realm of understanding there is therefore no such thing as pure objectivity;

* Ibid., VII, 199.

* *Kongenialität*, literally, "intellectual and spiritual consanguinity." (Translator)

* *Werke*, I, 211; V, xxiii.

¹⁰ Ibid., VI, 298.

objectivity is always only relative. What there is, is deeper and deeper penetration to the object. Just as there is no pure love between persons, so there is no perfect understanding. Therefore the most troublesome problem posed by history is: "in what way the means by which we penetrate history is, in the last analysis, the sacrificial surrender of the individual..."¹¹

In Dilthey's Wake

The influence of Dilthey's hermeneutics upon the subsequent course of philosophy has been, down to the present, extraordinarily persistent. A Dilthey movement in the narrower sense arose, numbering among its leaders especially Erich Rothacker, Georg Misch, Hans Freyer, Eduard Spranger and Joachim Wach (with his large three-volume work *Das Verstehen*, 1926-1933). Alongside there arose an I-Thou philosophy carried forward by the sensitive writings of Martin Buber on *I-Thou* (1923, English translation, 1937) and *Die Frage an den Einzelnen* (1936) and those of Ferdinand Ebner (*Das Wort und die geistigen Realitäten*, 1921) and Karl Löwith (*Das Individuum in der Rolle des Mitmenschen*, 1928) until receiving its most profound expression in Eberhard Griesebach's *Gegenwart—eine kritische Ethik* (1928) and Karl Jaspers' existentialism.

Man as a solitary ego, says Jaspers, can neither achieve authentic selfhood nor manifest himself to others. "If I cannot love the other person, I cannot love myself. If I am only I, I must become desolate."¹² It is only in the communication that goes on in loving conflict—a struggle for mutual understanding—that I and Thou attain to our true selves. "Only through mutual recognition do both of us grow as our authentic selves. Only together can we attain what each of us seeks to attain."¹³ Philosophy seeks to illuminate the freedom in which I and Thou become what we truly are. This process of becoming takes place in communication which is, in origin, a gift and not something that can be forced. It is struggling, clairvoyant love welling up out of the origin of existence which itself lies in the transcendental world. Again, as in Schleiermacher and Dilthey, this love is understood as a union of what is separated. Jaspers appeals expressly to Plotinus' doctrine of the One and the many. The deepest contact between you and me is when "those who belong to one another in eternity find their way back together." Only in the world of being, the world of phenomena, are we—I and Thou—separated; in the transcendental world we are one. And yet existence is being which is "not transferable": my existence "cannot be that of someone else"¹⁴ and when I communicate with another he remains completely himself and I myself, neither is transformed into the other. Nevertheless, is love not the transcendental world's experience of unity transferred to the imma-

¹¹ Ibid., I, 100.

¹² Jaspers, *Existenzerhellung*, 1932, p. 56.

¹³ Ibid., p. 57.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 19.

nent world?¹⁵ Here Jaspers works his way down the same blind alley found in Schleiermacher and Dilthey, and he too effects his escape, ultimately, only by asserting that understanding between the I and the Thou is possible only because the deepest stratum in both is the One. Thus Jaspers' hermeneutics is also founded upon a mystical pantheism which, as in Dilthey, does not in reality do away with the antithetical tension between substance and phenomenon and, hence, the limitation upon understanding and love.

Away from Pantheism

The challenge to this pantheistically grounded hermeneutics came from within the ranks of the philosophers themselves. It was Max Scheler, especially in his *Vom Ewigen im Menschen* (1921) and his study on *Wesen und Formen der Sympathie* (1948), who made the justified assertion that in every form of pantheism love loses its meaning, namely, the uniting of two entities, since in pantheism there is in fact no multiplicity of distinct individuals. Love is therefore only the dispelling of the illusion of duality. Such love is basically self-love which merely cloaks itself in the appearance of love for others.¹⁶ Were I to love God merely because I am myself (as Spinoza maintained) a mode or a function of God, and were I to love other beings only because they are as well, that would no longer be love in the true sense of the term. Such love would be nothing but a miniature egoism, a part of the great All-egoism in which God barrenly loves only himself.¹⁷ In the mystery of true love there is mutual appropriation and affirmation of the core of each individual being, a process in which the individual first attains completely to himself. To grant to the other person freedom to be himself, in all his individuality, is an intrinsic part of love, says Scheler. Understanding love is "the great master builder," "the classical sculptor," fashioning from the medley of empirical details the individual being [*Wertwesen*].¹⁸ Christian individualism, properly understood, is the Magna Charta of Europe, says Scheler. And it presupposes love for a personal God.

With this new orientation in world view, Scheler then attempts to push forward to a new hermeneutics. For him, too, to understand is to love. This love is grounded in the "possession of God's being [*Wertwesen*] in the heart."¹⁹ "Love is the movement in which every concrete individual of worth arrives at the highest values possible for him according to ideal definition; or in which he attains that ideal being peculiar to himself."²⁰ Every human soul is a "unique idea of God." Each is grounded in God, not according to its being but certainly according to its eternal nature. Scheler himself designates the relation of the

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 109.

¹⁶ Scheler, *Vom Ewigen im Menschen*, pp. 436, 522.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 492.

¹⁸ Cf. *Der Formalismus in der Ethik und die materielle Wertethik*, 1927, p. 508.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 304.

²⁰ *Wesen und Formen der Sympathie*, p. 174.

human soul to God an *unio mystica*. This is not pantheism, he says, since in this *unio mystica* there is no real fusion of finite person with a mode of the divine Spirit; there is at most only an identification of the "soul as it is with its idea in God." "The being of every finite person is, to be sure, an authentic part of this Being."²¹ This "authentic mysticism of the spirit" is, according to Scheler, not a naturalistic mysticism tending toward pantheism, but a structural deification effected by participation in the divine act of love. By virtue of this love "in" God, the seat of personality in man is projected into the "center of the divine Omniperson."²²

Then follow the new hermeneutical consequences of this mysticism of the spirit. Since every person is, in the seat of his actions, one with God, the possibility exists according to Scheler of welding individuality and objectivity into a unity. For the same reason he believes there is such a thing as full understanding and absolute love. Turning to the Platonism of his teacher Edmund Husserl, Scheler believes it possible, by employing Husserl's method of phenomenological reduction, to "bracket" the historical character of human existence and, in an act of "spiritual love," to move forward to absolute objectivity. Just as in Scholasticism there was an absolute philosophy of reason, the extremities of which protruded in the ontological proof of God, so for Scheler there is an absolute *philosophia cordis* which leads to a "sociological proof of God." Thus by recourse to a mystically interpreted Platonism, Scheler cuts but does not sever the Gordian knot of the hermeneutical problem which revolves around the poles: history and individuality.

Heidegger: A Hermeneutics of Being

Heidegger's ontology—a hermeneutics of being*—also makes deliberate use of the methodology of Husserl's phenomenology.²³ "The *logos* of the phenomenology of human being has the character of a *hermeneuein* through which the understanding of being which belongs to human being is apprised of the true meaning of being and of the basic structure of its own being."²⁴ The purpose of his hermeneutics is "to allow what manifests itself to be seen from its own standpoint, in the way that it manifests itself."²⁵ In the process of understanding, the particular mode of existence that is human existence reveals itself. In distinction from all tangible being, it is being with understanding of itself, being that discloses itself in understanding. As understanding being, it is aware of the potentialities of its being. This awareness, which precedes perception and makes perception possible, is an intrinsic part of human existence. To be human

²¹ Ibid., p. 141 f.

²² *Vom Ewigen im Menschen*, p. 486.

* *Dasein*, which is translated in the rest of this paragraph as "human existence" or "human being." (Translator)

²³ Heidegger, *Sein und Zeit*, 1921, p. 38.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 37.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 34.

is, *a priori*, to possess this awareness. Understanding is directed only to the formal, "eidetic" structures of human being, to its essentiality freed of all individual facticity, its real, concrete characteristics having been "bracketed" through phenomenological reduction. Although Heidegger's hermeneutics, as he develops it, points to the temporal and historical character of human existence, Heidegger is nevertheless of the opinion that by means of his hermeneutics one can arrive at a purely objective and fully adequate grasp of the "matter itself." Georg Misch has made very clear the antithesis to Dilthey that shows up here in Heidegger.

The phenomenological principle of penetrating to objects themselves... is bound to the method of phenomenological reduction which, in Husserl, we were able to pursue into its transcendental depths until we arrived at its fulfillment in the [total] bracketing of reality [of the natural standpoint]. Dilthey, on the other hand, wants to catch sight of things themselves and the world itself apart from all existing ideas about them, and he characterizes the dissection of reality that is the philosopher's art thus: It is an ever deeper penetration to *historical* reality, an ever fuller extraction from that reality and a preoccupation with wider and wider areas of it.²⁶

"The decision comes to a head around this antithesis."

The Dilemma of Philosophical Hermeneutics

Philosophical hermeneutics ends therefore in the crucial question: Can the understanding subject through the act of understanding arrive at absolute objectivity by "bracketing" the historical and subjective character of his own existence as well as that of his object, or do the limitations upon his understanding show themselves so great that he can reach only a relative objectivity which extends itself step by step but never finally comes to rest? Scheler and Heidegger answer yes to the first half of the question, an answer they can make only by a recourse to mysticism. Scheler admits this openly. Heidegger does not, in so many words, but the mysticism is nevertheless there, concealed behind his argumentation. Griesebach has therefore rightly pointed out that the reasoning of the ontological proof of God, with its identification of mental concept and existence, is the basis of Heidegger's hermeneutics.²⁷ It is no accident that both Scheler and Heidegger came out of the Roman Catholic intellectual atmosphere which in its theological hermeneutics also believes it possible, as we shall see later, to arrive at an infallible objectivity by harnessing hermeneutics to the church's magisterial authority. This fact demonstrates already that philosophical hermeneutics points beyond itself to ultimate, theological decisions. Only thus can one account for the fact that spiritual love is of such significance for Scheler as a factor in solidarity that it enables him to conceive of the church as a spiritual asylum, as the highest authority, which is therefore able to demand of man the highest sacrifice: "the free sacrifice of his intellect."²⁸

²⁶ G. Misch, *Lebensphilosophie und Phänomenologie*, 1931, p. 222; Dilthey, *Werke*, VII, 118, VIII, 218.

²⁷ Griesebach, "Interpretation oder Destruktion," *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift*, 1930, p. 199 ff.

²⁸ Scheler, *Vom Ewigen im Menschen*, p. 702 f.

The following characteristics of philosophical hermeneutics result. The underlying world view rests on a form of pantheism or an individualistic mysticism. The basic presupposition is that like can be understood only by like, that the I understands the Thou only because both have their ground in God, the encompassing Whole. Understanding consists not in being able to manipulate what is to be understood nor in the desire to master the same, but in surrender. Presiding over the act of surrender is Platonic eros. The surrender itself is always a present option for the understanding subject, with the result that understanding is an autonomous act. The understanding subject is himself either the whole man, a thinking and feeling being who is part of a particular historical situation but, in his finiteness, is nevertheless part of an extra-sensory Whole; or he is a "person" or "existence" who by participation in the divine act of love realizes his own peculiar possibilities. The object of understanding is the individual as he discloses himself in speech, writing, likeness and behavior, these forms of disclosure again existing only in definite historical situations.

And here the opinions of the philosophers on the degree of objectivity attained in understanding diverge. Those belonging primarily to the Dilthey school maintain that a historical phenomenon is so intimately linked to being that understanding can have only relative access, through that phenomenon, to the stratum of being itself. Those with affinities to the Roman Catholic mentality speak of a fully adequate grasp of reality and of the possibility of total objectivity. Despite these notable differences both forms of philosophical hermeneutics do not overstep the bounds of Greek anthropology with its two strata, substance and phenomenon, universals and particulars. That is true of the "affinity" theory, with no special proof required. Scheler, however, as Schleiermacher before him, also speaks in terms definitely *not* Greek of individual being and so introduces the principle of individuality into the stratum of being. Nonetheless his appropriation of Husserl's methodology of reduction lands him as well in a Platonism with mystical overtones—which means, ultimately, that all differences fade away into an all-embracing Unity.

We find, therefore, that philosophical hermeneutics does not manage to give history and individuality their full due. The whole man does not stand with his feet planted in history, nor is he truly an individual. Rather there is in man a stratum unaffected either by history or individuality. It seems as though philosophy is incapable of giving a final theoretical foundation to history and individuality. It seems as though this pair confronts philosophy with an insoluble dilemma: either the whole man, both as being and phenomenon, is subjected to the temporality of history and the concept of individuality, in which case philosophy has on its hands an ambiguous relativism and/or a plurality of truths; or historicity and individuality remain restricted to man as phenomenon, in which case philosophy must take refuge in a mystical pantheism, which means it must at the same time deny the two factors their full validity.²⁹

²⁹ Cf. Gerhard Krüger, *Die Geschichte im Denken der Gegenwart*, 1947.

II

Theological Hermeneutics

Dilthey's Influence on Theology

Theological hermeneutics at first took over a great deal from philosophical hermeneutics as expounded by Schleiermacher and Dilthey. The history of religions school especially made use of Dilthey's methodology, often with great success. The hermeneutics of Ernst Troeltsch, the systematician of the school, rests on these presuppositions throughout. The path of understanding leads through the world of phenomena to being, and relativism can be avoided only by interpreting history as the unfolding of divine reason.³⁰ Understanding is possible only through the finite beings' assuming an essential identity with infinite Being. "We are able to perceive a being other than ourselves only because, by reason of our identity with the Omniconsciousness, we bear plain marks of it in ourselves..."³¹ But there is no direct intuition between the I and the Thou. Understanding arrives only at relative objectivity.

In agreement with Troeltsch, Erich Fascher remarks that the doctrine of the ultimate identity of all beings propounded by Schleiermacher and Ast as a foundation for hermeneutics is extremely important for the Christian conception of hermeneutics and that in the area of theology it can also hold its head high.³² Harnack's famous *What is Christianity?*, recently reissued by Bultmann,³³ also proceeds from the presuppositions of that foundation. In his foreward to the book, Bultmann rightly remarks that Harnack's task in the book was purely historical, namely, to establish the essential and distinctive character of a particular historical phenomenon. Harnack himself says the problem is to find the essential in the phenomenon, and in this he knew himself to be at one with Hegel's, Schleiermacher's and Goethe's view of the eternal in the temporal.

But Bultmann himself also employed Dilthey's hermeneutics at first. "In characterizing the relation between author and exegete as the precondition of understanding, Dilthey in fact disclosed the presupposition of all interpretation with its basis in understanding." One need only reflect, he continues, on the simple fact that the presupposition of understanding is the living relation of the interpreter to the matter which speaks in the text. This is what Wilhelm von Humboldt meant by the term "affinity," says Bultmann. Bultmann did not see that the term carries more meaning in the hermeneutics of Idealism than he assumes, that it rests on a pantheistic, substance-phenomenon type of thought. He did not see that there is no such thing as a universally valid hermeneutics

³⁰ Troeltsch, "Historische und dogmatische Methode in der Theologie," *Gesammelte Schriften*, II, p. 747.

³¹ Troeltsch, *Der Historismus und seine Probleme*, 1922, p. 648.

³² Fascher, *Vom Verstehen des Neuen Testaments*, 1930, p. 116.

³³ New York: Harpers, 1957.

and that every hermeneutics is bound to certain categories of interpretation which are determined by ultimate religious or ideological encounters. I should say Bultmann did not see it *yet*. He was therefore still able to venture the sentence: "The interpretation of the biblical writings is not governed by conditions of understanding different from those governing all other literature."³⁴

Van der Leeuw: Agape vs. Eros

The first signs of the reorientation in theological hermeneutics appeared in the significant, concluding chapter of van der Leeuw's *Phänomenologie der Religion* (1st edition, 1933, 2nd edition, 1956, English translation, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation*, 1938). The final goal of phenomenology is pure objectivity, comments van der Leeuw heeding Heidegger's command to penetrate to the objects themselves. So also, he continues, all understanding is based upon sacrificing love for the object of understanding. This goal can only be attained, however, when the understanding subject turns away from empirical reality (the external object) and from himself in order to enable the loving look of the admirer to fall upon the beloved object. Van der Leeuw, too, wants to employ Husserl's methodology with its phenomenological reduction, or *epoche*, of empirical, factual reality; and at first it appears that one is again moving in the sphere of the Platonic doctrine of being found in Scheler and Heidegger. But van der Leeuw then deprives the reduction procedure of its power to bracket reality by arguing that the phenomenology of the scientific study of religions is not able to obtain a pure and adequate grasp of its object. Phenomenology of religion is directed instead to the continuing correction afforded by conscientious philological and archaeological research; phenomenology must always be ready to be confronted by factual data. Otherwise it runs the risk of falling prey to empty fantasy. Phenomenology is denied the privilege of the beatific vision, of seeing "face to face."

Yet the really new factor in the hermeneutics outlined here is not contained in these assertions. A pupil of Dilthey would be able to express himself similarly. The new element shows up for the first time in the discovery that the deeper the understanding subject penetrates to his object, the more clearly he realizes that the ultimate basis of his understanding does not lie in himself but in Someone else who understands *him* from beyond. Without this universally valid factor of "being understood," there would be no understanding. "Understanding" is not understanding until it arrives at the fundamental stratum and sees itself as first understood. Just as all human love is only the response to love from beyond, so also all human understanding is the response to a recognition of having been understood. Understanding is therefore no longer an autonomous

³⁴ Bultmann, "Das Problem der Hermeneutik," *Glauben und Verstehen*, II, p. 231; English translation, "The Problem of Hermeneutics," *Essays Philosophical and Theological*, p. 256.

act. Nor is it a *tour de force* of especially gifted people, nor a rediscovery of myself in you, nor an ever deeper penetration to being. Understanding, like love, does not even lie within the bounds of human possibility in the first place. It is rather an act based on faith. Not this or that faith, but faith in the God who through his Son has shown to man how far his understanding extends. The new element in van der Leeuw's hermeneutics lies, therefore, in the fact that, perhaps without being aware of it, he brought over into the act of understanding, where Platonic eros had till then provided the motive power, the act of Christian agape. The implication was that the way had been paved for a wholly new form of hermeneutics, seeing that the spiritual and intellectual sphere of agape is one wholly different from that of eros. A full grasp of the implication came only with the theological reflection on the distinctive nature of Luther's hermeneutics, however.

The Rediscovery of Luther

It is no exaggeration to say that the rediscovery of Luther's hermeneutics and its intimate tie to his rediscovery of justification introduced a new paragraph in the history of contemporary hermeneutics. Deepened study of Luther's exposition of Scripture brought to light essential traits of hermeneutics which had been covered over or repressed in the centuries following the Reformation. Freed from their prison, they now revealed to the astonished eyes of scholars the extraordinary depth of thought which Luther had plumbed in his struggle to arrive at a true understanding of the word of God. Now for the first time the outlines of a hermeneutics began to emerge which contrasted sharply with both philosophical and Roman Catholic hermeneutics. In view of these facts, scholars even ventured to say (and rightly) that it was by virtue of his new hermeneutics that Luther became a reformer.³⁵

It is impossible within the bounds of this article to come anywhere near exhausting the riches offered in the studies cited in the footnote. We must limit ourselves to elaborating the crucial characteristics of Luther's hermeneutics when brought face to face with Roman Catholic and philosophical hermeneutics.

Luther's first concern is to arrive at a new interpretation of the old hermeneutical formula of "letter" (*litera*) and "spirit" (*spiritus*). He searches to find the exact point at which the divergent tendencies implicit in these concepts

³⁵ Of the great number of studies of Luther's hermeneutics, those by Gerhard Ebeling might be mentioned especially: *Evangelische Evangelienauslegung. Eine Untersuchung zu Luthers Hermeneutik*, Forschungen zur Geschichte und Lehre des Protestantismus, Series 10, No. 1, 1942; "Die Bedeutung der historisch-kritischen Methode für die protestantische Theologie und Kirche," *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, 1950. "Die Anfänge von Luthers Hermeneutik," *ibid.*, 1951; "Luthers Auslegung des 14. Psalms in der Psalmenvorlesung im Vergleich mit der exegetischen Tradition," *ibid.*, 1953. Cf. also K. Bauer, *Die Wittenberger Universitätstheologie und die Anfänge der deutschen Reformation*, 1928; Fritz Hahn, "Luthers Auslegungsgrundsätze und ihre theologischen Voraussetzungen," *Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie*, 1934/35; and "Die Heilige Schrift als Problem der Auslegung bei Luther," *Evangelische Theologie*, 1950/51; H. Bornkamm, *Das Wort Gottes bei Luther*, 1933; H. Diem, *Grundfragen der biblischen Hermeneutik*, Theologische Existenz heute, 1950, and R. Niebuhr, *The Nature and Destiny of Man*, Vols. I and II, 1946; Karl Holl, "Luthers Bedeutung für die Fortschritte der Auslegungskunst," *Gesammelte Schriften*, 1921, and Heinrich Frick, *Wissenschaftliches und pneumatisches Verständnis der Schrift*, 1927.

intersect. Their divergence he sees as one of a series of antitheses: *sensibilia* and *spiritualia*, *visibilia* and *invisibilia*, *exteriora* and *interiora*, *manifesta* and *abscondita*. Only by finding the points at which these lines intersect can Scripture be correctly interpreted. For these concepts taken by themselves say nothing. They derive from the sphere of philosophy. Luther's decisive deed consisted in filling these concepts with theological content, i.e. in interpreting them christologically. Christ, he says, is man and God, mortal and immortal; in him God is at the same time both hidden and revealed; in Christ we see how everything with spiritual life exists only *in contrario*, as life in the midst of death. In the same way, the *verbum internum*, the "spirit," is concealed in the *verbum externum*, the "letter."

From this there follows a two-fold orientation of exegesis. It must first be directed to the *verbum externum*, the letter, giving the most exacting attention possible to the philological and grammatical details of the text. Exegesis in this sense is in man's power to employ as he sees fit; it confronts him as a challenge and a task, as a demand upon his energy and activity. Without this literal understanding of the text the exegete would find it impossible to enter into the interpretation of its meaning, into the sphere of radiation of the *verbum internum* in which the exegete is only a recipient. Only at this point does "understanding" attain its true meaning, for the relation of subject and object is now reversed. The subject of understanding is now the text, in the sense of "spirit." The object is the understanding subject. The *invisible* can be understood only by the person who knows he is first understood by the Spirit; the person who, aware that he comes with empty hands, is ready to receive all things at the hands of the same Spirit. Only he is capable of understanding who has been brought to the cross beforehand, there to give up his own security and receive instead the true certainty. Scripture opens itself only to him whom the Holy Spirit has enlightened, to the believer—that is to say to him who knows God loves him, and by virtue of that love knows that he is himself incapable of transcending the egotistical limits to his understanding.

These two streams in interpretation do not run parallel to one another, nor does one course swifter than the other. The bond connecting them is simultaneity. True theological understanding is an encounter between Christ and the exegete. But this encounter is impossible unless there is precise knowledge of the *verbum externum*. From this there follows, first, what Luther put down in a formula that grew famous: "Scripture is its own interpreter." That is to say: understanding must not be bound either by a church or by a world view. It is bound only to the written word. Second, this linking of grammatical and theological understanding means that the act of understanding can never reach an absolute state, since grammatical understanding is always exposed to human error and since the person doing the theological interpreting is dependent, *sola gratia*, on the bestowal of power which he cannot summon at will and which, once it is granted him, he can appropriate only with all his human limitations.

Justification and Hermeneutics

All this meant that in his struggle for a true hermeneutics of Scripture Luther was brought to the heart of the process of justification. Understanding revealed itself to him as an act within this process, as the realization of that agape which had confronted him in its archetypal form in Christ. This agape, Luther found, shattered the interpreter's ego and led him to a total insecurity in which his existence was radically imperiled—in order that in this Nay the object of interpretation might emerge with clarity. The words applying to the justified sinner—*simul justus simul peccator*—had their counterpart for the interpreter: the man who had been enlightened was always in need of further enlightenment, just as the man who had been justified remained in need of justification. The person who has opened himself to the *verbum internum* is still bound, because he is a recipient, to his subjectivity. Luther saw clearly the tragic situation of the person seeking to understand: in order to understand one must put aside all personal wishes and desires, one must enter the process of mortification. And yet one attains this goal only when he is in personal attendance at the proceedings, when one recognizes that man is a total man. It follows that there is no fully adequate understanding of Scripture, since the understanding subject is not able in the midst of the act of understanding to step outside the bounds of two concentric circles: he must already possess the *verbum internum* in order to understand the *verbum externum*, and yet he cannot have the former without the latter. Moreover: in order to understand he must be a whole man, with will, feeling and thinking. And yet he must efface his own ego in order to let the matter itself speak.

With these characteristics of Luther's hermeneutics in mind, one can see the justification of Ebeling's statement: "The full weight of the problematics of theology resting on the shoulders of Protestantism is concentrated in the hermeneutical question."³⁶ There is in Protestant hermeneutics no security, no definitively formulated truth, no "pure doctrine," no perfected system. There is only a repeated rendering-oneself-accessible, ever new attempts to penetrate, new probings, new orientations, all in the certainty that the final answer will remain concealed as *absconditas in contrario* in the sense of Luther's dictum: *spiritus latet in litera*. This recognition of radical uncertainty which one finds already in Luther received a final dimension of depth in the emergence in the 19th century of the awareness of the historically conditioned nature of human existence.

Roman Catholic Hermeneutics

Recognition of this hermeneutical situation within Lutheranism leads directly to a consideration of the great gulf separating it and the basic form of Roman

³⁶ Ebeling, "Die Bedeutung der historisch-kritischen Methode für die protestantische Theologie und Kirche," *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, 1950, p. 21.

Catholic hermeneutics: the theory, appearing already in the Middle Ages, of the fourfold sense of Scripture. The four senses are

- (1) Literal or historical: what took place.
- (2) Allegorical: what we are to believe.
- (3) Moral: how we are to act.
- (4) Anagogical: what we hope for.

The theory can be correctly understood only when its basic presuppositions are grasped. The first of these is that the "letter" and the "spirit" are identical, in other words that in effect the doctrine of verbal inspiration still holds good—just as even today that doctrine is still expounded in Roman Catholic dogmatics. The second is that it is not the individual who, as an independent member of the church, constitutes the understanding subject, but the infallible Magisterium of the church. "In its doctrinal pronouncements the Magisterium gives authentic and, therefore, binding interpretations of the people's faith-consciousness which was kindled by the Holy Spirit but is always imperiled by man's overweening self-confidence. These pronouncements make it possible to *know with certainty* what belongs to the content of oral tradition."¹² In sharp contrast to Lutheran hermeneutics there is in Roman Catholicism, therefore, an objectivity with double safeguards. It is safeguarded, first, from the point of view of the object of understanding, in that letter and spirit are identified and are thus delivered from the relativities of history. It is safeguarded also from the point of view of the subject, in that the interpreter of Scripture is no longer a person but an office which, through its link with an ecclesiology which regards the church itself as an infallible and therefore absolute institution, constitutes a purely objective seat of authority. The whole system rests unmistakably on Greek ontology for which the phenomenon is so essential to essence that one blends almost imperceptibly into the other. Consequently, subjectivity and history are not exactly relegated to the sidelines, but they are assimilated into being to such an extent that they no longer constitute any real threat to the process of understanding.

This putting of hermeneutics wholly under the wing of the church has, in comparison to the hermeneutical situation in Lutheranism, something alluring about it. One has security, complete objectivity, clarity, stability and certain results; while in Lutheranism there is insecurity, groping searching, new questionings, imperiled existence. It is quite understandable that for people who do not possess resources of faith stemming from genuine encounter and therefore require leading, the first situation is to be preferred. And who would want to dispute that life there is much more secure? And yet, from the point of view of hermeneutics, that security has an Achilles' heel.

¹² M. Schmaus, *Katholische Dogmatik*, I, 113.

The Achilles' Heel

Roman Catholic hermeneutics makes a total claim to infallible interpretation, a claim founded on the church's objective Magisterium and that office's culmination, papal infallibility. But the magisterial office is, of necessity, occupied by men. As experience teaches, men who are entrusted with absolute power, whether in the sphere of church, state or culture, succumb necessarily to its demonic lure and extend themselves beyond the boundaries prescribed by their office. Dostoevski has given graphic expression to this phenomenon in his tale of the Grand Inquisitor. The Christian faith traces it to the fact of sin. For hermeneutics it means that the person entrusted with the power to interpret something infallibly, places himself above the text to be interpreted and makes it amenable to his will—rather than waiting attendance on the text and keeping himself open to the matter it contains.

This method of reading into the text something it does not contain is called allegorical interpretation of Scripture, the second of the four senses of Scripture mentioned above. It tells us "what we are to believe," and it should be noted that this almost imperious sounding phrase emanates from the claim to power made by the church and its Magisterium. In western Christianity, allegorical interpretation of Scripture derives from Greek philosophy. The old stories of the gods were demythologized by the Greek philosophers. By reading into them their own philosophical dicta, they made the stories say something other than was originally intended by them. Interpreting the Old Testament in this way, Philo was able to wring Stoic philosophy from it.

The history of hermeneutics shows that every time a philosophical or theological truth which had been promulgated as infallible or absolute was applied to history as a criterion of interpretation, history was found to be only an illustration, or image, or allegory, of that truth. Since, therefore, Roman Catholic hermeneutics is governed by an authority regarded as infallible, it is necessary that the allegorical interpretation of Scripture stand at the center of that hermeneutics. Hence Luther's impulsive attacks upon the falsifications of history in the Catholic dogmatics of his day, upon the use of Scripture to demonstrate the primacy of the papacy, upon the alleged historical proof of apostolic succession, etc. Hence his never relenting concentration upon what "is written," and hence the rigorously scriptural orientation of his hermeneutics. If this orientation is taken in all seriousness, the conclusion is that the objectivity and security of Roman Catholic hermeneutics is purchased at the price of faithfulness to the text and honesty in its interpretation. In the most recent and interesting text of Roman Catholic dogmatics, Schmaus offers and interprets a great deal of biblical material, often with explicit reference to critical Protestant exegesis to which he also makes concessions where necessary. But the interpretation never departs seriously from the irrevocably fixed doctrinal formulations furnished by tradition and the Magisterium. These provide the basis from which to approach and

interpret the text. This is allegorical interpretation of Scripture: the matter to be interpreted is firmly fixed beforehand, by magisterial decisions, against the questions posed by history. History is replaced by the equation of man's word and God's word. Interpretation by an individual is replaced by interpretation by an office.

In contrast, the problems connected with history and individuality in Lutheran hermeneutics stand out in sharp relief. Here the understanding subject is a true man, totally at the mercy of time and subjectivity and therefore unable, on his own, to arrive at understanding. Lutheran hermeneutics consequently posits a quite different anthropology from that obtaining in Roman Catholicism, which with its *analogia entis* does not make any decisive break with the subject-phenomenon pattern of Greek thought. For Protestant hermeneutics, fully adequate understanding is not even possible after the capacity for understanding has been bestowed on the individual since, even in this new state, as *simul justus simul peccator* he does not fully escape his old existence. The fact of sin imposes an absolute barrier. Where ecclesiastical dogmatism, or hierarchism, or philosophical systems, override this barrier the fact of sin does not receive its full due; and at the same time, history and individuality cannot exercise the effect they should.

At this point, the contrast between Protestant and philosophical hermeneutics also becomes clear. As we saw above, philosophical hermeneutics is able to deal with the problems raised by the concepts of history and the individual only by recourse to an anthropology founded upon a type of pantheism or a mystical ontology. It thus arrives at an understanding over which it can exercise control and by means of which it believes it possible actually to penetrate into the sphere of being. But it feels compelled to first set limits to the effectiveness of history and individuality. Philosophical hermeneutics knows nothing of sin and therefore nothing of the frightful earnestness of the hermeneutical situation; nor does it know anything of total uncertainty as the silhouette of *sola gratia*. It is therefore no coincidence, as the examples of Scheler and Heidegger showed, that within philosophical hermeneutics the opinion arises that there is such a thing as perfect love and, hence, fully adequate understanding. Thus the same situation arises as we encountered in Roman Catholic hermeneutics. Except that there is now applied to history a speculative dictum which has been elevated to the status of an absolute, forcing history to yield meaning different from its real meaning. Heidegger's misinterpretation of Plato's allegory of the cave, his extremely idiosyncratic interpretation of the course of the history of western metaphysics, his one-sided interpretation of Kant, all point directly to the danger of this philosophical form of allegorizing.

Barth: Suspension of History

Karl Barth's hermeneutics is a clear illustration of the fact that the danger is one always confronting Protestant hermeneutics as well. For the Barth of the

second edition of the commentary on Romans, a hermeneutical situation was actually not even possible in view of his theological presupposition which ran, as everyone knows: God's in heaven and man's on earth. From this starting point, interpretation would inevitably be misinterpretation. The *verbum internum* and the *verbum externum* were, in dualistic fashion, so torn asunder, and man was projected so far into the finite void of the *verbum externum* that interpretation as an act receiving or imparting meaning did not even have a chance to get on stage. Every bridge was burned, whether it crossed over to philosophical or theological hermeneutics. The slogan became the "uninterpreted word," the word which took concrete form in revealed dogmas such as the virgin birth or the resurrection. Faith became a simple acceptance of this word. Barth thus attained a perfected objectivity by excluding all tendencies toward subjectivity or toward the relativity associated with history. What suffered was the actual content of the text and the actual situation of man. In his commentary Barth was therefore unable to give an interpretation of Romans that did justice to its content. What he offered was merely a presentation of his own theology, by means of which he allegorized the book of Romans.

In his huge *Church Dogmatics* Barth has now propounded a completely new theology.³⁸ In attempting to answer the question whether this theology has also resulted in a new view of hermeneutics, we turn briefly to Barth's exposition of the doctrine of predestination, which without a doubt occupies a key position in his entire dogmatics. Barth criticizes the static forms of the traditional formulations of the doctrine. He attempts, quite rightly, to get back behind them to the simple act of election, which derives its meaning from faith in Christ. This was, in fact, a promising reorientation of the doctrine. But, as in his first period, he then extracts the whole christological event from history and sets it down before the starting point of history. God's whole action in election takes place only in the pre-incarnate Christ. In him God's actual deed of grace is enacted. Everything that has happened since, and happens now, is nothing more than a demonstration of this sovereign grace of God. Man's decision, being *ex post facto* in nature, is basically of no consequence. Ontologically, there is for man no longer the possibility of sin and unbelief. The sovereignty of God's love has become so overpowering that it excludes the possibility of man's making a decision. The negative elements remaining are confined to the phenomenal world, there to exercise no effect on man's substance which rests, *a priori*, in the bosom of God's grace. The grace of creation and the grace of election merge into one. The tension between the *verbum externum* and *internum*, between law and gospel, is suspended. That tension could no longer exist in the first period of Barth's theology since the poles of tension had been placed too far asunder. At present there is no longer any tension because the *verbum externum* has been fully absorbed by the *verbum internum* and the law by the gospel, and because both poles have been

³⁸ Cf. among others Emil Brunner, "Der neue Barth," *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, 1951, p. 89 f.

so closely coupled that one is only a moment in the movement of the other. If, as Karl Friedrich Schumann has correctly demonstrated,³⁹ a type of Platonism underlies Barth's theological thought in its first period, in its new phase it rests on a type of Hegelianism. From the dogmatic point of view, the whole is grandly conceived and structured. But it lacks biblical foundation.

Observe the interpretation of the figure of Judas, for example.⁴⁰ Judas becomes an allegorical vehicle of Barth's speculative theologoumenon that after God's act of election in the pre-existent Christ sin is no longer a reality. There follows as the end result of this interpretation the curious fact that Judas is portrayed as a second redeemer. His betrayal must not be looked upon as something negative, since he too stood in God's grace from the outset. Further examples of this sort can be adduced with little effort. All of them would show that the hermeneutical situation of the *Church Dogmatics* is the same, in its end result, as that of the commentary on Romans, even though the theology of the new Barth is quite different from that of the early Barth. Common to both periods is the fact that Barth's theology does not take history into account. In the first period, history *per se* is represented as without meaning; in the second it is wholly subsumed, Hegel fashion, into the sphere of divine grace. *Les extrêmes se touchent*. The proof, at a point picked at random, is Barth's unaltered hermeneutical situation over the years.

Bultmann's Struggle for Valid Interpretation

The extraordinary earnestness of the situation into which Protestant hermeneutics leads the interpreter can be illustrated by taking as our final example Bultmann's struggle for a valid interpretation of Scripture. One can distinguish three streams in this struggle. The first is seen in the total separation of the *verbum internum* and *externum*, the same separation we observed in the Barth of dialectic theology. One finds facing but with no relation to one another, the historical Jesus and the kerygma, "past history" [*Historie*] and history [*Geschichte*], the latter being the locus of the human decision made possible by faith in the kerygma, tangible reality and intangible reality.

The second stream, an inheritance from the history of religions school, is a closer alignment with the hermeneutics of Schleiermacher and Dilthey: the biblical writings must be interpreted exactly as is any other literature. From this there follows a first form of the demythologizing of the New Testament: the unauthentic elements must be probed for their authentic ingredients. These the interpreter can uncover only because he himself participates existentially in authentic being. Here Bultmann occasionally confronted the danger (which he did not always manage to escape) of misinterpreting the authentic elements

³⁹ Schumann, *Der Gottesgedanke und der Zerfall der Moderne*, 1929.

⁴⁰ *Dogmatik*, II, 2, 498-563.

because he proceeded from Heidegger's philosophy, whose contents he at first took over. Hence he maintained that existentialist philosophy is capable by itself of giving expression to the intentions of New Testament thought.⁴¹

Final clarity comes only with the third stream, however: hermeneutics conceived as demythologizing of the New Testament has, in the last analysis, the same intention as the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith. "In point of fact, radical demythologizing is the parallel to the Pauline and Lutheran justification by faith alone without the deeds of the law. Or rather, it is that doctrine consistently carried out for the area of knowledge. Like that doctrine, demythologizing shatters all of man's false security and all his false striving for security, be it security based on a good life or on verifiable knowledge."⁴² Certainly a "prior understanding" is necessary, says Bultmann, in that the interpreter beginning to interpret a text already stands in a certain living relation to it, so that he approaches it with certain questions posed in a certain way. But the prior understanding must be critically tested and put at stake. "In addressing questions to the text, the interpreter must allow the text to question him; he must be ready to heed its claim upon him."⁴³ Interpretation does not consist of establishing criteria which we can control. At its best, says Bultmann, it consists in new and repeated encounters of the individual with the *verbum internum* concealed in the Scripture. In this encounter *sola gratia* and the realization of the individual which that grace makes possible are paradoxically linked together. Encounter does not mediate objective facts or universal truths. It never attains to the object of interpretation itself, it can only mediate the benefits of that object to me. Those benefits become realities only in the repeated encounters of faith with Christ who is concealed in the historical Jesus.

Bultmann and Luther

Details in the results which demythologizing interpretation yields are always being criticized. This is quite in accordance with the aims of demythologizing itself. But there is no disputing the fact that demythologizing gives expression to the truly Lutheran concern in the *sola gratia* teaching. That concern raises continual protest against all attempts to set up absolutes and gives full scope to the fact of sin without, however, depriving the personal decision of the individual of its historical nature. Bultmann thereby established connection with the rediscovered hermeneutics of Luther.⁴⁴

If one follows out the intention of Bultmann's hermeneutics, the Orthodox-Liberal antithesis in the theological thought of Lutheranism falls by the wayside. The Orthodox attitude identified the *verbum externum* with the *verbum internum*,

⁴¹ Bultmann, *Kerygma and Myth* (London: SCM Press, 1954), p. 27.

⁴² Bultmann, *Kerygma und Mythos*, II, 207, and especially *Geschichte und Eschatologie*, 1958, p. 178 ff. (published originally in English under the title *The Presence of Eternity: History and Eschatology*, New York, 1957).

⁴³ Bultmann, *Glauben und Verstehen*, II, 227 ("The Problem of Hermeneutics," *Essays*, p. 254).

⁴⁴ Bultmann, *Geschichte und Eschatologie*, p. 183 f.; cf. also the valuable study by Ernst Fuchs, *Hermeneutik*, 1954, and Gogarten, "Theologie und Geschichte" (*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, 1953).

man's word with God's word, history with revelation. It thus made of God's word, or his revelation, something at the disposal of men and ended up in an unbending rationalism. Hermeneutics was in reality quite superfluous. Its function was regarded as being merely to exhibit to view what was already fixed beforehand.

The Liberal attitude took the opposite tack. Either it converted the truth of faith into rational, human truth; or it classified that truth among the facts of history and so secularized the world of faith and put it within man's power. Liberalism, too, ended in a vapid rationalism. It did indeed affirm the necessity of hermeneutics and was zealous in putting that belief into practice. But its interpretation was not able to attain any real depth, since the *verbum internum* lost its true character through being assimilated by the *verbum externum* and since interpreting was bound to a predetermined pattern.

The rediscovery of Luther's hermeneutics shattered the security propounded by both Liberals and Orthodox by exposing the relative nature of both brands of security. Luther's hermeneutics showed that every interpretation of Scripture is conditioned by two factors. One is that interpretation is bound to the grammatical construing of the text. The second is that interpretation in the sense of encounter, *sola gratia*, with the living Christ does not have understanding at its beck and call. It can only remain alert to a call from beyond, and when such a call comes the interpreter must keep in mind that as a person in continual need of God's grace he is always only a wayfarer straining toward a goal. But in this world the beatific vision is denied him. In Protestant theology and hermeneutics, therefore, there can be in the future only a never ceasing movement from man's word to God's word, and back again. The results attained with each such movement must be subjected to continual testing and control on the basis of the matter being interpreted, in the constant awareness that to absolutize these results is, without fail, to put the texts to be interpreted at the mercy of allegorization. Only thus will history and individuality come to exercise the effect they should in Protestant hermeneutics.

A Watchman's Role

The end of our study finds us with two basic and distinct forms of hermeneutics: philosophical and theological. One of the tasks of theological hermeneutics is to uncover this diversity without at the same time isolating itself. Theological hermeneutics must keep up a dialogue with philosophical hermeneutics and in it play the part of a watchman who sees to it that the love operative in all understanding is placed within the field of force of the one true love—the love which became incarnate in Christ.

FROM THE WORK OF THE LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION AND THE ECUMENICAL WORLD

GENEVA DIARY

Several items came before the officers of the federation at their meeting in Vienna on February 14th which should be reported :

Inter-Confessional Research Foundation

The officers arrived at several conclusions concerning the Inter-Confessional Research Foundation after they had heard a report from the special committee of six selected at the recent Executive Committee meeting. They agreed to propose to the member churches and national committees that a standing commission for this work be organized. This commission, and the necessary budget provision, should go into action about February 1, 1960. Careful discussions had been carried on by the special committee at a meeting in Frankfurt, Germany, on December 19th, 1958.

In principle it has been agreed that the emphasis during the first years of the life of this foundation should stress research rather than a program or any action. It has been agreed, furthermore, that there should be a full-time director whose background and training would give him a status equal to that of a professor at a university. It is further hoped that this director of the foundation will have the services of an assistant at the beginning and that the necessary staff will be added later. We have given very careful thought to the problem that, once this foundation is organized, it should be given a latitude and freedom similar to that of any well-established faculty at a university. We shall have to steer carefully and clearly between organizational and institutional rigidity on the one hand, and careful responsibility for utterances and declarations by this foundation, on the other. The Executive Committee members have been given a chance to express themselves through a written poll on the subject of establishing this commission. The location of the foundation has not yet been agreed upon and in the first few years no building or center is contemplated.

Future Headquarters of the LWF

Our readers will be interested in knowing that the Executive Committee at its last meeting carefully considered the question of future headquarters of the LWF. This question had arisen from the fact that the World Council of Churches

has now been authorized to move its headquarters in Geneva and construct a new headquarters building. In conjunction with these plans the World Council has invited the world confessional bodies to move with the WCC into the new building. It was agreed unanimously by the Executive Committee that the federation should continue its present arrangement with the World Council of Churches, namely, to occupy the space necessary for the staff and operation of the Lutheran World Federation in Geneva in the new headquarters building of the World Council of Churches. The officers were instructed to provide opportunity for those member churches and national committees who wish to do so to contribute to the headquarters building fund. Such contributions will be in addition to what has already been contributed directly to the World Council of Churches. It is therefore clear from the action of the Executive Committee that it does wish to continue to have the LWF headquarters close to those of the World Council of Churches. One must say that this arrangement of having office space near to and in conjunction with the World Council of Churches is a happy one. It has been estimated that members of the staff of the Lutheran World Federation hold membership on 28 different committees which are related to the World Council of Churches. This arrangement provides opportunity for better coordination and cuts down on duplication of effort. Naturally, it provides a constant flow of information and cooperation in many activities that would otherwise not be possible.

It is interesting to look back on the history of how the Lutheran World Federation came to choose Geneva as its headquarters in the first place and how this relationship on the campus of the WCC has developed. You will recall that Dr. Michelfelder was sent to Geneva primarily to coordinate the activities of the US committee or section of the old Lutheran World Convention, as it was then called, with the emergency work of the WCC then in process of formation. In fact, it will be remembered that Dr. Michelfelder served as the director of the World Council of Churches material aid section at the same time as he represented the American Lutherans. It was later that he was elected Executive Secretary of the Lutheran World Convention which was then reorganized into the Lutheran World Federation.

Radio Station in Africa

Readers will be interested to know of the developments concerning the radio station which the Commission on World Mission is planning for Africa. The commission had laid its plans without knowing that another agency had also made preliminary plans to establish a radio station for broadcasting to the Arab world and other language groups. It was also discovered that both organizations had made plans to raise funds and to start a radio station for the continent of Africa. It has been made clear now that the two will not under any circumstances duplicate their programs or their operations.

* Radio, Visual Education and Mass Communications Committee (of the Division of Foreign Missions of the National Council of Churches).

Meanwhile, it has been interesting to note the ready response of a number of national committees and member churches to the appeal for the radio station. The US Lutherans have generously agreed to contribute to the cost of setting up this station. The German National Committee has taken a historic step in appealing to all congregations of its churches for special offerings, setting as its goal one-third of the construction costs. The Swedish National Committee through its so-called "Lutherhjälpen" in cooperation with the Church of Sweden Mission has organized an appeal for contributions for this purpose also. Other national committees are expected to do likewise within the next few months. It has been interesting to note what a ready response there has been to such an appeal, and from our estimates of the response we judge that the required fund, which seemed exceedingly large at the beginning, will be collected. For this we are deeply grateful and exceedingly happy.

The action of the Executive Committee in authorizing the Commission on World Mission to proceed with this plan presents the federation with a totally new and different kind of project, unlike any other that we were engaged in before. It will have significance for the Lutheran World Federation far beyond simply the Commission on World Mission. It will mean binding the Lutheran churches together in an international project of significance for a long time to come. It marks another step in the progress towards cooperation and unity among Lutherans. Naturally, we are not now speaking of the opportunity that presents itself in the radio program itself, which is far beyond the limits of this brief diary: the number of listeners to be reached, the opportunity of bringing the witness of the gospel to thousands and even millions of people, opening many vistas which we cannot fully grasp even now.

CARL E. LUND-QUIST

World Mission

First Contours of the African Radio Station

IT IS NO MERE COINCIDENCE that by far the most challenging project ever undertaken by the Lutheran World Federation is directly concerned with Africa, the continent which has been described so charmingly (and yet so materialistically) as "the continent which God kept in reserve."

No other area in the world offers a greater challenge to the Christian church. This is a challenge not primarily of population potentials. After all, Africa has but a conservative 240 million people to Asia's exploding 1.5 billion. Stopping just long enough to underscore the fact that 240 million is no mere handful either, representing roughly one-twelfth of the total world population, I want to go on to point to a couple of factors which constitute the African challenge.

Nowhere else is national and political freedom being achieved at the pace Africa now exhibits. Furthermore, the issues at stake on the vast religious battlefields of Africa are more clearly defined than on any other continent. History has here arrayed three spiritual giants for a showdown. Islam, Christianity and materialistic atheism are presently engaged in a life and death struggle for the soul and destiny of Africa.¹

The urgency of increased radio evangelism for the teeming millions of Africa is accentuated by the possibility offered of directly approaching great masses of people who can neither read nor write and consequently cannot effectively be reached through more conventional means of communication.

Counting the Cost

The vision of bringing the gospel to Africa and Asia via radio was discussed at the 1957 Commission on World Mission meeting on Staten Island, New York. A preliminary plan for an LWF radio station was presented and

approved at the CWM meeting in Sigtuna, Sweden, in August, 1958. A more detailed plan was officially approved by the LWF Executive Committee at its meeting in Strasbourg last October. In between these historic high points the Department of World Mission staff in Geneva has laboriously gathered facts and experience.

Modern radio equipment is expensive to buy and operate. Even the conservative estimate presented to last year's CWM meeting revealed some rather frightening sums. The cost of establishing a 50,000 watt short-wave station "somewhere in Africa" was estimated at \$400,000, the annual operating cost at \$70,000. Was it reasonable to expect that Lutheran churches, heavily engaged as they are in many areas of service, would willingly assume this additional burden?

We are now not more than nine months from Sigtuna, where the financial concern no doubt loomed as the biggest question mark. But already sufficient time has elapsed to put to shame our lack of faith in the provision of God and our lack of confidence in our Lutheran constituency's will to sacrifice.

The National Lutheran Councils in the United States and Canada immediately rallied to the cause. Together with the mission boards in these countries they assumed the responsibility for up to two-thirds of the construction cost. The German National Committee of the LWF, also working hand in hand with the missionary societies, recently set as its goal one-third of the cost of the total project. The Scandinavian countries are presently making plans for fund-raising campaigns, with Sweden taking the lead.

This is not to say that the Lutheran churches in Africa are being left out of the picture. Our plans call for a strong local participation in the program. A string of radio studios, served and maintained by the local churches, are springing up throughout the vast continent.

First Staff Appointment

The first permanent staff member to be appointed is Mr. Allan Thompson, an American radio engineer who three years ago began to study for the Lutheran ministry. Mr. Thompson, a 1942 graduate of Montana State College, has had over twenty years' experience in electronics engineering and radio program production, of which ten have been with the overseas information agency

¹ Of Africa's 215 million (1955 statistics),
86 million were Moslems
75 million were adherents of primitive religions
22 million had no religion
32 million were Christians.

of the United States government in Washington. His thesis for the bachelorate of divinity which he received last month was on international religious broadcasting. During the preparatory period, his office is to be at LWF headquarters. One of his first assignments will be to acquaint himself with the African scene.

Additional personnel appointments are now under consideration. An international staff is planned.

Preliminary Policy

The undersigned has been requested to work out a statement of policy for future broadcasting activities, to be presented to this year's CWM meeting for consideration. Which is a round-about way of saying that what I have here hastily stitched together does not as yet represent an official LWF point of view:

(1) *The Lutheran World Federation radio station will first and foremost proclaim the Christian message to as large an audience as possible.*²

It may seem unnecessary in the church of the Reformation to ask what is meant by the term "the Christian message." Some do it anyway. And to such I reply: Whether a message is Christian or not will have to be tested by the formal principle *sola scriptura*.

It must be a biblical message, endeavoring to make the person and work of Jesus Christ as central as we find it revealed in the Scriptures.

A more important message we cannot proclaim. A less important we dare not.

(2) *This Christian message will address itself to the local situations.*

If some devoted scholar a hundred years from now were to undertake the slow but interesting task of critically examining, say, 500 sample programs beamed into any given local area, he should be able from these tapes to reconstruct a fairly comprehensive and accurate picture of what that area was like *anno* 1960.

(3) *From the very start the aim will be to make both personnel and programs as indige-*

nous as possible, in the hope of strengthening the life and activities of the local churches.

The radio station is not meant to be a bridgehead in foreign territory, of help only to forces from abroad. The station will strive to serve the African (and Asian) churches. Close cooperation will be maintained with the local churches. Most programs will be locally produced.

(4) *By way of summary, the above three points taken together carry with them the obvious implication that the LWF radio station programs will be something more than Scripture reading and hymn singing.*

News bulletins, cultural and educational programs will all have their legitimate place in the total program. In addition to helping the listeners, they will help in maintaining a listening audience.

Just as important will be the follow-up work, with correspondence courses, etc., etc.

But to spell all this out in more detail will not be attempted in this brief report.

SIGURD ASKE

World Service

People and Churches

"THE EXCHANGE OF PERSONS is today more important, in some respects, than material aid," were the opening remarks of Dr. Bengt Hoffman, director of the Department of World Service of the Lutheran World Federation, at the opening session of the two-day Consultation on Exchange held in Geneva, February 10-11, 1959.

Representatives engaged in administering aspects of the LWF exchange programs came from Finland, Germany, Norway, Sweden and the United States. They met with staff of the LWF for the first time to discuss the purpose and program of the exchange of persons through the various departments of the federation. This first consultation on exchange was called on the invitation of the Department of World Service. Dr. Paul Empie of the United States, chairman of the LWF Commission on World Service, served as chairman.

² "While the location of the station will necessarily depend on where a franchise can be negotiated, it should be kept in mind that the location should be so chosen as to make possible the widest possible coverage not only of the African continent, but also the Near East and Asia." Memorandum to the Executive Committee of the LWF from the Executive Committee of the Commission on World Mission, October 16, 1958.

Time for Introspection

The exchange program of the LWF can be defined as a sponsored plan whereby persons are sent from one country to another, primarily to engage in study, research, or other types of directed training under a financial subsidy covering all or part of the cost of the exchange experience.

The program involves three types of exchange:

Theological

Normally one-year assignments:

- (1) exchange of theological students for purposes of academic study and practical experience;
- (2) exchange of theological professors for research, lecturing, or teaching.

World Mission

One- to four-year assignments, mainly from lands of the younger churches:

- (1) exchange of theological students for academic study and practical experience;
- (2) exchange of students in disciplines other than theology for basic and advanced study in preparation for future service in the church.

World Service

Three- to six-month assignments:

- (1) exchange of pastors and lay workers for practical training and experience in some special aspect of the life of the church in another country;
- (2) exchange of pastors or lay workers of unusual leadership potential who are filling positions of responsibility in their own church, a church institution, or related agency of the church, for study and practical experience in their special field of endeavor.

The fact that a consultation was called at this time implies that there is a need to look realistically at what we may or may not expect to accomplish through this exchange of persons and at what the program can actually achieve. Certainly there was no doubt of the importance of this program for the church. It was emphasized again and again in the consultation that "exchange must have a purpose" and that "exchange of persons is moving 'faster' than it is possible for the organizational structures to accommodate." It was certainly recognized that the whole program of exchange must be carefully

scrutinized at this time so that the purpose and goals of exchange will be clear and realistic. These must be a part of the total program of the church and its strategy in the world today.

From a statistical point of view, the exchange of persons in the few years of operation has been significant. Since 1954, the total program of LWF exchange has involved 150 individuals from 26 countries who were assigned for study in 13 countries. The largest number of exchangees came from Germany (32), the United States (28) and Sweden (11). During this period, the United States received 88 persons from 24 countries, Germany received 44 and Sweden 11. From the younger churches of Asia and Africa, we note the following exchange: Indonesia 13, India 6, Tanganyika 5.

Three-pronged Purpose

"Exchange of persons must have a purpose," so spoke Dr. Paul Empie, chairman of the consultation. Certainly the consultants at this first meeting on exchange realized at the end of two days that this purpose is for the enrichment of the life of the whole church. While no outline was made of the purposes of exchange at this meeting, the following may be suggested:

Spiritual Fellowship

- (1) To enrich the life of the church and cultivate spiritual fellowship between the Lutheran churches of the world through personal contact and friendship with representative members of the churches.
- (2) To enrich the personal spiritual life of individuals participating in the program through experience in the worshiping community of the church in another country.

Interpretation and Understanding

To provide opportunity for individuals to gain understanding of the witness of the church in the life and culture of a country other than their own by study of the theology, practice, programs, progress and problems of Lutheran churches in other parts of the world.

Creative Learning and Sharing

- (1) To aid in the professional development of outstanding individuals in the church for further service in their own church

by giving them an opportunity to engage in directed academic study, or practical experience in and study of the emphases and methods of work of the church in another country.

- (2) To aid in the development of a church in another country through supplying trained personnel in needed areas of work.
- (3) To contribute to the general spiritual growth of the individual participant and the broadening of his vision of the unity of the church and its task in the world today.
- (4) To develop favorable attitudes toward a host church and its work and so further mutual understanding of the unity and dependence of the church in all parts of the world.
- (5) To develop understanding and appreciation of the life and culture of another country and thereby some insight into the peculiar tasks of a church in another part of the world as it attempts to witness in its situation to the meaning of the gospel for the world today.

It should be noted that such exchange includes several objectives which it is hoped will be realized in one program or in one individual. These objectives are interrelated parts of the whole, and it should be noted that the degree of emphasis on one objective or another will depend on the background, personality and position in the church of the individual participant in the exchange program. Selection of the individual participant is therefore of extreme importance.

Furthermore, the fulfillment of the objectives of the exchange program will depend in large measure on the careful planning of each individual's program of study and directed activity. It is therefore urgent at this time that the churches examine themselves to determine what in their life is most worth sharing with other churches, and that they then offer exchange invitations in these areas.

It is further required that the churches examine themselves in order to develop a strategy for training personnel resources within their church so that they may witness more effectively in their particular situation. On the basis of such strategy the church should become increasingly aware of those areas in which it needs to be strengthened and of those opportunities for the training of personnel which exist in a church in another country.

The exchange program must fundamentally be an integral part of the program of the church, if it is to be of value to the church. Therefore the most able pastors, lay workers, students and professors should be chosen to participate in the exchange because the church feels that these individuals will both benefit from the experience and make an increasingly effective contribution to the life of the church through their particular area of service in the church or in society.

The Potentialities

The particular value of this consultation lay in the opportunity for those administering exchanges in various countries to learn to know each other, to share frankly the problems involved in the exchange of persons, to discuss qualifications of the exchange and of the program in which he is to be involved, and to clear numerous details involved in such exchange.

A glance at the areas in which exchange has taken place to date may be of significance as we evaluate the meaning of such a consultation. The Department of Theology was the first to initiate an exchange program. Since 1954, a total of 65 persons from 19 countries have participated in this exchange, involving mainly graduate students in theology and professors. Not only have such exchangees learned to know something of the theology and practice of another part of the Lutheran church, but they have inevitably been involved with churches of other confessional backgrounds and have so been introduced to the whole ecumenical movement.

The Church Workers' Exchange Program of the Department of World Service was initiated in 1956 and since that time 57 pastors and lay workers from 12 countries have spent three to six months in a church in a country other than their own. They have been involved in specialized, practical training programs such as: evangelism, stewardship, religious journalism, church music, inner missions, Christian education, medicine, the diaconate, college and university work, youth work, evangelical academies, the training of lay workers, higher education, etc.

The Department of World Mission inaugurated its program in 1955 and since that time 28 scholarships have been granted to students from eight countries of the churches in Asia and Africa.

In addition to these programs, the LWF Committee on Latin America also maintains an exchange of persons, although it normally channels its exchanges through the departments mentioned above.

Certainly the final impression of the consultation was that the exchange of persons through the Lutheran World Federation *can become* one of the most significant aspects of the life of the church in the years which lie ahead of us, if the exchangees are chosen as a part of the total strategy of the church as it attempts to live and witness in the world today and if the programs of study are carefully developed and administered in the various countries to which exchangees may go.

RUTH WICK

World Service

First European Stewardship Conference

HAUS AM SCHÜBERG, a Lutheran retreat center in quaint Hoisbüttel near Hamburg, was the site of the first all-European stewardship conference. Representatives from nine European Lutheran churches took part in the five-day sessions from April 6-11.

In his opening remarks Pastor Richard Nelson, stewardship secretary of the Department of World Service, clearly stated the purpose of the conference. It had come about, he said, "in response to the requests of the various Lutheran churches in Europe. Our purpose in meeting here these days arises out of a situation that faces us in whatever country we live—namely, the need for a renewal of the spiritual life within the congregation, and a need to find effective ways of reaching out to the many people who somehow are drifting away from a living relationship to the risen Lord Jesus Christ."

Pastor Nelson pointed to a two-fold need. "First, to strengthen, develop, unite and use those members, be they few or many, who come regularly to the worship service or to one of the Christian organizations in the parish; second, to understand that the congregation is responsible for contacting the unchurched and helping them to see the meaning of Christ and the Christian faith for their lives. The church can be and should be an effective means of ministering to the

needs of people." The question, said Nelson, is whether the church today is that.

Where does "stewardship" come in? Stewardship, Nelson concluded, "is a scriptural reminder that each individual Christian and each congregation is responsible for bringing the good news of Christ to people wherever they may be and in whatever circumstances they may live. Bishop Lilje after the Second Assembly in 1952 made the statement that stewardship may take on the same significance for the 20th century as the development of missions did in the 19th century. The reason for our coming together these days is to come to a better understanding of how important stewardship is for the life of the church and the witness we are to make in the era of missiles and factories and secularism."

Exchange of Experiences

Each day of the conference followed a special theme, such as the role of laymen in the church or stewardship of time. The morning sessions dealt with the theological aspects of each theme and the afternoon sessions centered around the practical application of the various facets of stewardship in the congregation. In the discussions which arose during the afternoon meetings there was a lively exchange of ideas among the representatives of the many European lands present in which it soon became evident that although almost every country had its own peculiar problems, many difficulties were common to all lands—e.g., a reluctance of many pastors in all lands represented at the conference to use their laymen fully in the life of the church and in visitation evangelism. However, one gained the impression that through much hard work and sound theological interpretation much progress had been made during the past few years in using laymen more effectively in congregational life. Most countries reported that a goodly number of congregations in their homeland had active and ongoing visitation programs.

One of the most interesting experiments in this field was conducted in Finland in November, 1958. A city-wide visitation evangelism program was carried out in which almost every parish in Helsinki participated. Widespread publicity was given in the Finnish radio and press to the two-week program, and the reception to this carefully planned undertaking—for which arrangements began nine

months in advance—was most favorable. The reaction of the average Finn who was visited was: "Why has the church not called on me before?" Norway has carried out similar *aksjons* on a smaller scale for several years. The difficulty reported by both countries was in effectively following up the weeks of special emphasis on visitation, so that a permanent program would result.

Weekday Worship

Denmark and Germany reported that several congregations had regularly and successfully conducted a worship service during the week with a brief sermon on a special theme. These services were designed for those who were not regular church members and who otherwise did not participate in the life of the church. The form of worship was less formal than on Sunday and there was a special emphasis on church music of a high caliber. Following the service, which lasts fifty minutes, there was usually a discussion at the parsonage and a social hour. In both Denmark and Germany this idea of a weekday service has been well received and has provided a new approach to laymen in the community who would otherwise not come into contact with the church. Pastor Herbert Reich, secretary of the LWF Commission on Stewardship and Congregational Life, reported that in the near future Germany would produce a half-hour sound film pointing out the challenge of stewardship and visitation programs and the need for them in the large and spread-out Lutheran congregations in Europe. The film will be made in consultation with the stewardship representatives of other European lands so that the final product can be used also outside Germany.

As the conference proceeded it became evident that the greatest progress made in stewardship work in Europe during the past few years has been in the use of laymen in the visitation program to call on the church and the unchurched in their communities. Considerable progress was also reported in making more effective use of the time and talents of laymen all over Europe. Several areas reported use of talent inventories to encourage the use of lay talents in the congregation. The one area in which the least advance had been made was the stewardship of money. The difficulty presented was to find an effective way of interpreting to the

members of a congregation the meaning of responsibility under the European church-tax system, which is usually combined with free-will offerings. Some of the experiences reported from Bavaria opened up new insights into how this problem is being met. Planned giving and special emphasis on stewardship of money in youth work was felt to be necessary in all the churches. Several instances of the successful use of pledging and regular use of offering envelopes were reported.

Future Study

For future work in European stewardship the conference had some recommendations to make.

Since most of the questions still open could be placed under the theme, "Stewardship and the Living Congregation," the conference felt the following subjects should be considered from a theological as well as a practical point of view:

- (1) The position of the pastor in a living congregation.
- (2) The life and attitude of the inner circle of the congregation.
- (3) Ways of bringing the estranged back to the congregation.
- (4) Stewardship of youth.

It was suggested further that these questions be discussed at a second European conference for stewardship perhaps in the spring of 1961. For this purpose basic theological studies combined with practical reports should be prepared. The conference might well be connected with a visit to a congregation actively engaged in a visitation program. An evening with pastors and laymen of the local area as guests of the conference was also suggested.

With regard to the exchange of material for stewardship and visitation evangelism, contact persons were suggested for Scandinavia, Central Europe and Southern Europe. The plan would be that the stewardship leader in each of these places would compile all the stewardship and visitation material of his area, examine it and forward it to the stewardship secretary in Geneva for evaluation. The secretary can then publish in the *Stewardship Newsletter* a listing of material which has been recommended for general use.

The conference also underlined the great value of the Church Workers' Exchange

Program. It was especially emphasized that the exchange of fraternal workers should be expanded and, above all, should also include those churches which may not feel able to spare a pastor to participate in the exchange program, the minority churches, for example.

Finally, the conference discussed ways in which the churches could help each other in stewardship work. It was felt that more use should be made of the exchange of pastors and laymen, where geographical, ecclesiastical and linguistic conditions were favorable. This exchange should be channeled via the stewardship representatives of the participating churches.

When the participating churches are unable to finance such an inter-congregational or inter-church exchange, it was suggested that the Lutheran World Federation seek out ways to assist in such exchanges.

The first European stewardship conference was of special value in the exchange of the ideas and techniques of many churches in the field of stewardship. To the churches not yet very active in stewardship the conference provided encouragement and moral support for starting such a program of their own.

EUGENE RIES

World Council of Churches

Pioneers' Passing

THE OPENING SESSION of the 1959 winter meeting of the Executive Committee, held in Geneva from February 9-13, was in large part a memorial service for the five distinguished members of the Central Committee who had passed on into the larger life since the Nyborg meeting in August, 1958: the Rt. Rev. G. K. A. Bell, late Bishop of Chichester (United Kingdom) and honorary president of the council; Bishop Eivind Berggrav (Norway), a former president; Bishop Volkmar Hertrich (Germany); Archbishop Howard W. K. Mowll (Australia); and the Rev. C. Denis Ryan (Australia).*

* After these lines were written, (retired) Archbishop Yngve Brilioth of Sweden, another ecumenical pioneer and a member of the Executive Committee, died in Uppsala after a long illness. (Editor)

Dr. Franklin C. Fry, who was presiding, gave the main address, and words of tribute were added by Bishops Dibelius and Sherrill and Drs. Payne and Visser 't Hooft. Although brief and simple, the service seemed to make the presence of these pioneers of the ecumenical movement very real at the sessions that followed. With their passing, especially the passing of Bishop Bell, leadership of the WCC has definitely been transferred from the first to the second generation. The feeling that the World Council is now at a transitional point seems to have stayed in the back of every member's mind throughout the whole week.

Roman Catholic Ecumenism

The general secretary's report never fails to be one of the highlights of WCC meetings. In about 45 minutes he surveyed with both precision and depth all the problem areas for which the WCC is called upon to concern itself: Rumania, Spain, China, Eastern Europe, and other places where Christian churches continue to find themselves in difficulties. The reconciliation of two parties within the Syrian Orthodox Church in Travancore, South India, was hailed as one of the most significant events in recent years in the life of Christianity in Asia, while the doctrinal accusation leveled at the WCC by certain quarters in the Church of Greece was looked upon as an occasion for all the member churches—the Church of Greece included—to renew their conviction in the theological basis of the WCC and to give it more positive theological articulation. The announcement of the ecumenical council to be called by Pope John XXIII provided an excellent opportunity for Dr. Visser 't Hooft to review a rather remarkable development of ecumenism within the Roman Catholic Church in recent years. This placed the question of the proposed ecumenical council in its proper context.

The crowded agenda of the Executive Committee is always a matter for astonishment. No less astonishing is the way the committee actually adheres to the agenda and the way in which all the members present take part in every session. The thing which impressed this reporter most, however, is the *esprit de corps* that so manifestly exists among the members. The rollcall of members present readily shows how divergent and heterogeneous a group it is, theologically, culturally,

politically and ethnically: Bishops Barbieri from Argentina, Dibelius from Germany and Sherrill from the USA, among the presidents; Dr. Eugene Blake, Presbyterian from the USA, Dr. Kathleen Bliss, Anglican from the UK, The Rev. Peter K. Dagadu, Methodist from Ghana, Prof. Joseph L. Hromadka, of the Brethren in Czechoslovakia, Dr. Martin Niemöller, Evangelical from Germany, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Methodist from the USA, Dean Liston Pope of the United Church of Christ in the USA, and Metropolitan James of Melita, substituting as the Greek Orthodox representative for Metropolitan James of Philadelphia. Presiding over this varied group were Dr. Fry, chairman of the committee and a Lutheran from the USA, and Dr. Ernest A. Payne, vice-chairman, Baptist from the UK. On many controversial matters various members of the group can express differing convictions with equal vigor and zeal without "rocking the ship." The present membership of the Executive Committee has been the same ever since 1955, having weathered even the no small tempest at the Central Committee meeting at New Haven in 1957. Differences of opinion or even of conviction notwithstanding, members seem to have profound confidence in one another's integrity and Christian commitment. It is refreshing to watch debate carried out without unduly long prefaces couched in diplomatic language or footnotes displaying self-conscious scholarship.

Visit to Cyprus

To pick out only a few issues of general interest:

(1) On the Vatican's announcement of an ecumenical council, the Executive Committee said, "The Executive takes note of the deep interest reported among the constituent churches of the WCC over the announcement that the Pope proposes to call an ecumenical council, at least one concern of which will be to further Christian unity. In view of the present uncertainty as to the exact composition and purpose of the proposed council, the Executive decided that at this juncture no formal or extended comment should be made on the proposal." The Executive reiterated the WCC's commitment to the cause of Christian unity and requested the officers and staff "to keep under review the implications of the development of the proposed 'council'

for the whole cause of Christian unity and to report to the Central Committee at its meeting this summer" and expressed its "confidence that the member churches of the World Council will continue to pray for unity as Christ wills it."

(2) The Executive heard with intense interest and profound satisfaction the report of the fraternal delegation that had visited the authorities of the Church of Cyprus, January 28-February 1, 1959, given by Prof. H. H. Wolf on behalf of Bishop Cullberg and himself. It was during one of the subsequent sessions of the Executive that word was received that Turkey and Greece had come to an agreement at Zurich. The resolution adopted in reference to Dr. Wolf's report said in part: "The visit has enabled the World Council to understand better the difficulties with which the Church of Cyprus has to cope, and specifically the problems created by the exile of Archbishop Makarios. The Executive Committee expresses the hope that the negotiations between the governments most concerned will lead soon to a solution of the outstanding problems and the return of Archbishop Makarios and nothing will be left undone by the churches and the governments to create the atmosphere which is needed in order to make agreement possible."

(3) A substantial portion of the meeting was spent on the preparations for the Third Assembly, for which much ground work had been laid by the staff since last summer. The main theme of the assembly had been selected by the Central Committee at its 1958 meeting in Nyborg, Denmark: "Jesus Christ the Light of the World." The Executive after much deliberation decided to recommend to the Central Committee the following titles for the three sections of the assembly:

- (a) Jesus Christ is the One Light—The Unity of the Church
- (b) Jesus Christ is the Light Shining unto Every Man—The Witness of the Church
- (c) Jesus Christ is the Light to the Nations—The Service of the Church

(4) The progress report on integration of the International Missionary Council and the World Council of Churches was on the whole encouraging. Of approximately twenty member churches that had sent in their official replies, only the Reformed Church of France was opposed to integration. The basic con-

cern of the Greek Orthodox Church was reported to be that integration might possibly be used as a pretext for proselytizing activities on the part of some churches. This led to a reappraisal of the study document on proselytism now being widely studied all over the world, not the least in Greece. It is possible that the next Central Committee will adopt a policy document on proselytism based on the present study document.

(5) With regard to the regional developments of the ecumenical movement, both the East Asia Christian Conference and the All-Africa Church Conference are well known. The latest development is the Conference of European Churches that met at Nyborg in January, 1959, in which both the churches from East Europe and the minority churches in western Europe participated.

Religious Liberty

(6) An interim report on the study on religious liberty first proposed at the 1957 meeting of the Central Committee (New Haven) and prompted by the critical situation in Colombia and Spain was presented by the secretary of the study, Dr. Carrillo de Albornoz. It consisted of a compendium of "Ecumenical Statements on Religious Liberty," "Observations to the Ecumenical Statements on Religious Liberty," "Report of the Evangelical Church A. and H.B. on Religious Liberty in Austria" and "Report on the Position of Religious Liberty in Italy." It was felt that at last the study of this important issue has been put on the right track and an excellent beginning made.

(7) Based on the report of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, the Executive Committee adopted an important statement which in view of its importance may deserve to be quoted in full:

Ever since man unleashed the power of the atom, the peoples of the world have feared its threat of destruction and sought the promise which this development has offered. They have searched hopefully, but thus far without success, for steps by which to minimize the danger of war and to release power for peace.

The Conference on the Cessation of Tests now meeting in Geneva could break the current deadlock. The considerable progress achieved in the technical approach to the detection of tests should now make it possible for political leaders to reach constructive agreements.

Both the World Council of Churches and its members in many parts of the world have repeatedly pleaded in statements and repre-

sentations for an approach to disarmament which could start from a controlled cessation of tests. Therefore this Executive Committee of the World Council of Churches, currently meeting in Geneva during days which are critical for the conference, welcomes the efforts to this end now being put forth.

We realize that the question of international control is the crux. The powers of the control commission, as well as the composition of the inspection teams, are in dispute. Perseverance in the effort to resolve these difficulties is a responsibility which the negotiating governments bear towards all peoples.

It must be recognized that any agreement, however carefully framed, involves a measure of calculated risk for all parties. Yet in face of the atomic peril, so fraught with grave consequences for present and future generations, acceptance of such risk is surely justified. Moreover, every agreement is one more step in the struggle to allay suspicion and build confidence.

To make tests to cease is important in itself. To demonstrate that international controls are feasible in relation to the cessation of testing can, in the long run, prove even more worthwhile in the development of regulated and progressive disarmament.

In commending this statement to our member churches throughout the world, we urge them to do everything possible to build an informed public opinion about these issues which are vitally at stake and to make such representations to their governments as they deem proper, especially in countries whose governments are directly involved in the negotiations on the cessation of tests. We further request the officers of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs to bring this statement personally to the attention of the heads of the delegations at the current conference—the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States—and to pursue these objectives through every appropriate means.

(8) On the World Refugee Year, the Executive affirmed "that the World Council of Churches, in addition to its permanent service, will do all in its power to cooperate in any constructive initiative taken by governments to solve the problems of refugees." It emphasized "to governments and all concerned that there are so many refugees, and such difficult situations, that their problems simply cannot be solved in one year, yet earnestly hopes that the problems of many more may be solved in this year than in any previous year, and that the World Refugee Year may result in far greater attention to their needs in the years to follow."

Followup on Race Relations

(9) A review of the ongoing work of the different divisions of the WCC brought home to the Executive Committee the everlasting

problem of the council: more things to do than its personnel and resources can possibly undertake! A good deal of time was spent discussing the proposed headquarters building. The building takes on new significance as it is seen not only in relation to the work which the WCC is doing through its divisions with their steadily increasing staff but also in relation both to the increasing demands which the contemporary world is putting on the WCC and to the growing work of the Lutheran World Federation and other bodies which share the headquarters buildings with the WCC. At this meeting, the question of race relations—on which the Evanston Assembly issued a clear mandate calling for something to be done—received renewed attention. A small fund was reported to have been made available which will make it possible to follow up the preliminary study made by Dr. J. Oscar Lee of New York a couple of years ago.

DAISUKE KITAGAWA

United Nations Children's Fund

Help for Children

There are about 1000 million children under the age of fifteen in the world today. Three-fourths of them, or 750 million, live in technologically under-developed areas. Eighty per cent of the children in under-developed areas live, or one might say exist, in countries where the annual per capita income is less than \$100. Twelve per cent are in countries whose per capita income is only between \$100 and \$200. A scant 8 per cent, or 60 million of the 750 million children, spend life in countries where the annual average income is over \$200.

The long-standing ills from which children in all these lands suffer have often been described. Sickness, hunger, poverty, and ignorance have brought misery to their lives or sped them to an early death. These four horsemen, each one a cause and an effect of the others, form a vicious circle which must be broken for the condition of children to be improved.

The physical suffering of children is of course not isolated from that of their parents. But children are the most vulnerable part of the population. Even when ills strike the whole family, it is the children especially who feel the effects. It is also on them that the future depends. In the framework of the needs of the whole population for freedom from disease and hunger and ignorance, the needs of the child are paramount and deserve special consideration, not alone for humanitarian reasons, but also in order to develop successfully a long-term policy for raising levels of living.

The General Assembly of the United Nations recognized both the tragedy and the importance of children when in late 1946, shortly after the UN's formation, it resolved under Article 55 of the Charter to establish an agency to look after the health needs of children. Thereby a first in history was recorded, for never before had governments, through an international organization, agreed to pool resources exclusively for the benefit of children.

The General Assembly in creating the new agency aimed its attention primarily at children in war-devastated countries. The resolution provided that the agency's resources were to be used:

- (a) For the benefit of children and adolescents of countries which were victims of aggression and in order to assist in their rehabilitation.
- (b) For the benefit of children and adolescents of countries at present receiving assistance from the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration [UNRRA was scheduled to finish operations in June 1947].
- (c) For child health purposes generally, giving high priority to the children of countries victims of aggression.

By the terms of the resolution, governments, not children directly, were to be the recipients of supplies, material services and technical assistance, and they had to request the required aid. Supplies were to be distributed to children within the countries on the basis of need, without discrimination because of race, creed, nationality status, or political belief.

The General Assembly gave to the agency the name "United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund," but it came to be known as UNICEF or simply, the "Fund." Later, both "international" and "emergency"

were removed from the name and it is now officially the "United Nations Children's Fund."

Precarious Beginning

The General Assembly put the responsibility for determining UNICEF's policies and programs and for allocation of funds upon a UNICEF Executive Board composed of government representatives. In order to ensure optimum use and coordination of UN resources, the General Assembly instructed that staff and technical assistance of other parts of the UN and of specialized agencies be used to the fullest extent possible.

In a way, the new agency started life like one of the struggling infants it was designed to help. No regular income was assured it. Livelihood, except for available UNRRA residual resources, would depend upon voluntary contributions from governments, voluntary agencies, individuals or other sources. The life expectancy of the infant agency was placed at "temporary."

On December 13, 1946, two days after UNICEF was established, the agency received its first contribution, a check for \$550,000 from UNRRA. This money had been specially collected in the United States to help relieve food shortages in Europe. As heir to many of UNRRA's responsibilities UNICEF was given the money as a start before promised UNRRA residual assets and other hoped-for contributions became available.

The next contribution, in January, 1947, was smaller, in fact only \$2.19. Its implications, however, were enormous, for it came from school children of a small town. UNICEF knew its future effectiveness would depend in the final analysis on the interest of people, both young and old.

UNICEF was anxious to begin operations. The needs everywhere were great and requests for aid were coming in from governments. But the members of the Executive Board put a curb on their impatience, feeling it would be a waste of effort and expense to start operations before further assurance of financial support had come. They did not have long to wait. On May 31, 1947, the United States Government authorized a contribution to UNICEF of \$15,000,000. This was followed in quick succession by announcements of contributions from France, Canada and Australia. Other governments stated they were in process of approving

contributions. Private individuals gave \$10,000 in unsolicited donations. On August 23, 1947, three million pounds of dried milk, the first shipment, left port for Europe's children. The Fund was in business.

For the next three years, UNICEF was able to send children in war-torn countries a steady stream of foods, including meats, fats, sugar and, above all, milk. Millions of children felt the benefit of a nourishing "extra" meal each day. But food was not enough. Hundreds of thousands of these children had no warm clothes or shoes to wear. Under its "raw materials" program the Fund shipped wool, cotton and leather to Europe to be manufactured by the countries themselves into dresses, coats and shoes. During these years most of the Fund's resources were devoted to the emergency needs of children in Europe. In 1948, however, the Fund also began providing emergency relief for Palestine refugee mothers and children. At the same time, a start was made in aiding programs of long-range value in Europe, Asia and the Americas.

By the end of 1950, through the generous response of governments, voluntary groups and individuals, UNICEF had been able to allocate approximately \$128 million for aid to programs benefiting children.

Shift of Emphasis

By 1949, UNICEF's task of relief to children, victims of aggression, was approaching completion. In December, 1950, the United Nations General Assembly amended the agency's terms of reference to place emphasis on long-range needs of children.

An interesting provision in the original resolution concerned non-governmental organizations. In the 1950 resolution, even more was said on the subject of UNICEF's relationships with non-governmental organizations. Grouped together, the provisions called upon UNICEF to cooperate with voluntary relief agencies and to obtain from those having a special interest in child and family welfare, advice and technical assistance. They also called upon the private organizations interested in child welfare to collaborate with the Fund in every possible way.

From 1951 through 1958, the Executive Board of UNICEF allocated approximately \$120 million in aid to benefit children. Over 90 per cent of this went to under-developed countries of Africa, Asia, the Eastern Medi-

terranean area and the Americas. For the work it has been able to do, UNICEF has received many kind tributes and some awards. For example, last year the Fund was awarded the World Youth-Welfare Prize for 1957 by the Pestalozzi World Foundation "in recognition of services rendered to children in distress the world over."

UNICEF itself feels that in comparison to the global needs of children, its direct contribution is small. If resources permitted, it would like to do much more. Fortunately, like ripples from a stone thrown into a quiet pool, the impact of UNICEF aid reaches out much farther than the original contribution. Through a "matching" principle, recipient countries match UNICEF supplies with local personnel, materials and facilities equal in value at least to UNICEF's contribution. In recent years, governments have contributed two and a half times as much as UNICEF. Further, UNICEF lends its aid to programs that can later be continued by the governments with local resources; in this way, UNICEF funds help to strengthen programs and then are released for other projects. In addition, timely UNICEF aid sometimes helps to stimulate new programs, which are then carried on by the recipient government.

But concretely, what is UNICEF doing to help children under its long-range mandate and where is it helping?

Fight against Disease

Since 1951, roughly half of UNICEF allocations have gone to disease control programs. There have been at least two reasons, beyond the humanitarian one, for this preponderance of money spent on disease control. One is that children and pregnant women are the part of a population most vulnerable to the ravages of most epidemic diseases and to other maladies that UNICEF helps attack. Another is that modern progress in developing BCG vaccine (*Bacillus Calmette-Guérin*), insecticides, sulphones, penicillin and other antibiotics has enabled poorer countries to undertake "mass" campaigns against such debilitating diseases as tuberculosis, malaria, leprosy, yaws and trachoma for which they could request UNICEF assistance.

Since 1949, in cooperation with WHO, UNICEF has been helping India wage the largest anti-tuberculosis effort yet attempted

by any single country in the world. It is estimated that in India tuberculosis kills one person every minute, hits one in every 150 persons, causes an annual loss to India of about \$500 million and costs 900 million man-days of work every year. In 1949 the government introduced a mass BCG vaccination campaign to protect the children and youth of the country, the group most susceptible to tuberculosis. UNICEF has allocated almost two million dollars for supplies and equipment for the campaign, in which, by the end of last year, about 115 million children had been tested and 41 million vaccinated with BCG. The campaign, a product of India's first five-year plan, is essentially a *preventive* effort.

As part of the country's second five-year plan, the Indian government, in 1956, moved energetically into the field of country-wide tuberculosis *control*. UNICEF, always in collaboration with WHO, has also been able to help this part of India's gigantic TB task along, contributing to the end of 1958 about \$700,000. These funds have been allocated for X-ray equipment, drugs, equipment for three mobile case-finding and treatment units, survey unit, state and national training and control centers and for vehicles for survey teams.

UNICEF also helps countries combat malaria, the world's "most expensive disease." In addition to barring the development of many potentially fertile areas of the world, malaria is the world's greatest single cause of invalidism and one of the great killers of children. About two-fifths of mankind live in malaria zones.

Immense progress has been made against the disease. Ten years ago, malaria struck 300 million persons a year, 60 per cent of whom were children, and caused three million deaths. Today it strikes about 100 million persons a year and kills about one and a half million. UNICEF has contributed to the progress by helping anti-malaria work in 58 countries and territories.

Another major disease that UNICEF helps fight is leprosy. Recently developed sulphone drugs have been highly successful in combating it. In addition, there is the realization that only certain cases of leprosy are infectious. Both these factors have led to a new policy in leprosy control, comprising abolition of indiscriminate segregation, early diagnosis and mass treatment outside leprosaria.

UNICEF, in co-operation with WHO, is aiding 25 leprosy control campaigns in Africa, Asia, the Eastern Mediterranean and the Americas. Leprosy is most often acquired in childhood. The objective of these modern campaigns is to render as many cases as possible non-infectious and thus remove the risk of infection from children in the future.

Though this is primarily a story of UNICEF work, it would be unfair not to mention the fine work being done by church missions for victims of leprosy. A UNICEF representative stationed in Brazzaville, Africa, reported not long ago in glowing terms on the work being performed by the missions and the trust in which they were held by the governments. In both Africa and Asia, UNICEF has supplied some of the missions carrying on leprosy work with vehicles and supplies.

A major disease, fortunately unknown to many of the world's people, causes untold misery to many millions in the tropical belt of the world. It is called "yaws." Usually acquired in childhood, the infection enters the body by way of a simple scratch. It first causes a series of painful sores which then may fester and eat into flesh and bone. Yaws does not often kill, but it leaves many victims permanently crippled.

For years there was no known successful treatment. Then, penicillin was discovered and the disease became miraculously curable. Sometimes one injection of the drug is enough to banish this "nightmare of the tropics."

Since the discovery of penicillin, nearly all the countries with a high incidence of yaws have undertaken campaigns which in time will cover their affected areas and reduce yaws to a minor public health problem. With the technical assistance of WHO, UNICEF is assisting 28 countries with their campaigns. Now, children who in all their lives have never laughed or enjoyed their childhood, have learned to laugh because their ugly and painful sores have disappeared.

Building Permanent Health Services

UNICEF has been able to make good use of "miracle" drugs and chemicals to help clear away endemic diseases affecting children. Gradually, as the need for mass disease control campaigns diminishes, UNICEF will put more and more of its resources into permanent preventive health services reaching people at the local level. Helping to develop

these services is one of UNICEF's main long-run objectives, but first the endemic diseases must be brought under control. In the meantime, UNICEF has been working in the direction of this long-range goal by helping to develop basic welfare services for mothers and children in many countries of the world.

Currently, UNICEF is assisting 78 countries with basic mother and child welfare programs, chiefly by equipping health centers for mothers and children and aiding in the training locally of thousands of child care workers, but also by improving village water supplies and excreta disposal and helping with the care of premature babies and the rehabilitation of physically handicapped children.

UNICEF's activities in the realm of basic welfare services for mothers and children give the agency some of its best opportunities for co-operating with non-governmental organizations. From its inception, UNICEF has known that the Fund and NGO's with similar goals have much to give each other, and has recognized the importance to children of such cooperation. The chairman of the Executive Board recently stated that he felt "UNICEF and the non-governmental organizations are now ready to enter into a fuller and even more mutually useful relationship in the future."

Some of UNICEF's most harmonious and fruitful relationships with non-governmental agencies are with church organizations.

In January of this year, while visiting Cambodia, a UNICEF representative found that cartons of powdered milk which should have been distributed to welfare centers for mothers and children in the provinces were through an inadvertency still in a Phnom-Penh warehouse. He was anxious to have the milk distributed before the onset of the rainy season, when it would deteriorate. With the consent of the Cambodian Ministry of Health, the UNICEF field man asked the Reverend Father in charge of the *Eglise Sacré-Cœur* in Phnom-Penh to distribute some of the stocks to mothers and children of the vicinity. The Reverend Father obligingly agreed.

In West Pakistan, UNICEF provides mission health centers, including many run by Protestants and Roman Catholics, with basic equipment, drugs and vitamin capsules for distribution to needy women and children of the area. Letters sent to UNICEF from the

missions eloquently testify to the usefulness of the distribution:

"Here I am to thank you most sincerely for the very useful set of equipment and soap, etc. I can assure you that the things will be well looked after, even though it is difficult in this desert place which is ever so dusty."

In India, where a vast need exists for trained medical personnel, UNICEF and institutions run by church missions pool resources to help train nurses and midwives. The Fund provides teaching equipment for training schools operated by Lutherans, Baptists, Presbyterians, Methodists, the Salvation Army and various Roman Catholic mission societies.

In Africa and Latin America, as well as in Asia, UNICEF and church organizations work side by side to help improve basic services for mother and child. It would be impossible here to mention all the places where such cooperation exists. Replies to a questionnaire sent out by UNICEF reveal that in Tanganyika alone, church missions in at least 35 villages use various types of UNICEF equipment. Choosing a few of the villages at random, one finds at Ndolage, a Lutheran mission operated by the Church of Sweden dispensing UNICEF supplies, at Kiomboi the Augustana Lutheran Mission distributing UNICEF supplies, at Shunga, the Anglican mission run by the Church Missionary Society assisting the people with UNICEF basic equipment, drugs and midwifery kits, at Mnero, Peramiho and Ndanda, Catholic Benedictine missions utilizing UNICEF supplies.

Mobile Clinics in Jordan

Moving over to the Eastern Mediterranean, one finds in Jordan a particularly important example of collaboration between the Fund and a church organization. There, the Lutheran World Federation and UNICEF are joining vital forces in a new and significant government project. Over much of the country the government, helped by UNICEF equipment, has been able to set up permanent mother and child health centers. But along the border area of West Jordan, medical facilities have been almost totally lacking. Until such time as the Government can provide fixed centers for these villages, the LWF and UNICEF have agreed jointly to provide four mobile centers which will move

through the area, serving the mothers and children of about 80 villages mainly with preventive care, but also with curative medical care and with basic health education.

The Jordanian government planned the project and will contribute about JD 4000 each year toward operating the units. The LWF, the most experienced of the three in mobile unit work, is providing the medical officer, dresser and driver required for each unit and will help equip the units and provide maintenance and running expenses. UNICEF will supply vehicles, provide part of the equipment for the units and enough drugs, dried milk, soap and vitamins for distribution over a two-year period.

Mobile units lend themselves admirably to the present needs of Jordan's border people. The idea of serving the area with such units was inspired by work already being carried out there by the Lutheran World Federation, including operation of one mobile unit. A letter regarding the project, written by a UNICEF staff member to a WHO doctor, says in part, "One important thing which I am pleased to tell you about it is that the LWF is going about this whole matter in such a methodical way that the chances of the work being properly carried out in the future seem to be good."

Striking at the Roots

One of the most important basic needs of children in the underdeveloped countries is not only for more, but also for better food. Deficiency diseases, caused either by under-nutrition or malnutrition, are among the most important causes of sickness and of death in young children.

UNICEF has had to choose carefully among possible ways to help solve the nutrition problems of children. Its choices fall roughly into three categories, described below.

Experts consider that the most serious single food deficiency is protein, and that milk is the best source of protein. Over the past dozen years, UNICEF has shipped almost a half million short tons of dried milk powder, most of it skim milk, to needy children all over the world—enough, when liquefied, to fill about 28 bottles the size of the Eiffel Tower. The greater part of the powdered milk was donated to UNICEF free of charge from United States, and more recently, from Canadian surplus stocks. UNICEF pays the ocean freight charges on the milk.

In addition while ships are ploughing the seas, bringing milk from abroad to supplement the meals of malnourished youngsters, UNICEF, in co-operation with FAO and WHO, is helping countries develop their own sources of protein.

The major effort along these lines is to increase the quantities of safe milk available to children from local production. UNICEF has provided imported equipment to 29 countries to help them establish permanent facilities for collecting, processing and distributing milk from local sources so that safe, free or low-cost milk is made available to larger numbers of children. In some areas, milk is unavailable for lack of dairy animals or for other reasons. In those areas, UNICEF, in close collaboration with FAO and WHO, and with assistance from the Rockefeller Foundation, is helping to develop safe, protein-rich foods other than milk. Some of the foods now being tested are fish flour, soyabean milk, flour processed from peanuts, sesame, cottonseed and coconuts.

In the fall of 1957, UNICEF entered its third field of nutrition endeavor. Now, in addition to helping governments distribute quantities of dried milk and develop high-protein foods from local sources, the Fund goes to the heart of the villages, there to help educate the mother in wise food practices and stimulate the villager's interest in such self-help activities as fresh vegetable gardening, fish culture, raising of poultry and small animals.

To carry out these projects, UNICEF provides transport, educational aids such as film strips, projectors, charts and posters, and the equipment necessary to prepare visual aids. It also furnishes a variety of items in-

cluding garden tools, seed, chicken incubators and materials for fishpond construction. Many trained workers are needed to implement the projects. UNICEF provides stipends, text books, laboratory and other equipment to help train teachers, community leaders and nutritionists at all levels, including administrators, supervisors and village workers.

In the short time since the UNICEF Executive Board formulated its policy for nutrition aid at the village level, eleven countries in Asia, Africa, the Americas, Eastern Mediterranean and Europe have requested and are receiving this kind of assistance.

A poet has said, "Tis nature's plan the child should grow into the man." We have tried to tell briefly how governments are working together in amity and with deep concern to fulfill nature's plan by bringing millions of underprivileged children in the world safely into maturity. More than 85 governments contributed voluntarily to UNICEF's resources in 1958. With the help of church and other organizations and private individuals, UNICEF has assisted programs for mother and child in 124 countries and territories since its beginning and today is assisting 368 projects in 105 countries.

What the future holds for UNICEF and its children depends entirely on the people of the world, acting through their governments, through non-governmental organizations and as individuals. The signs seem to point to continued and possibly increased interest. It is hoped that these have been correctly read, for standing beside every child that UNICEF has helped, are many still not reached.

ALISON MATHERS

FROM LANDS AND CHURCHES

Germany

The Religion of the Younger Generation

THE SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION seems to be approaching something of a boom. The much-discussed transformation in the structure of society led to repeated treatments of the relation between the church and industry, the church and leisure, church work in the parish and in the church as a whole. The sociology of religion, which had bogged down in the meantime, has now been resuscitated in a sociology of the church which concentrates especially on the use of empirical methods. The salient characteristics of the transition from the old to the new type of sociology of religion have been summarized in the assertion that the classic methodology of a Max Weber or a Troeltsch proceeded from an attempt to lay bare the religious roots of society. But today, continues the assertion, an opposite thesis is beginning to prevail, namely, that religious phenomena are conditioned by social phenomena (Schelsky). This is a thesis which still needs empirical verification. In the German Sociological Society a department for the sociology of religion has recently been established. Schelsky's thesis of the conditioned nature of religious phenomena or even religious consciousness has given rise to a number of empirical studies. One consequence of the studies should be more profound treatment of church statistics. The studies are seeking to determine the various types and structure of church life. In the background lies the church's question of more effective missionary strategy. The professional sociologists in turn would like to extend their study of the problems of the structural transformation of society to the sphere of religion.

Spontaneous Reactions

One of the most recent studies goes beyond these beginnings. The youth department of the Evangelical Church in Germany conceived the idea of obtaining data to help in assessing its youth work by polling a cross section of the younger generation. One of the large West German public opinion in-

stitutes, "Emnid" of Bielefeld, was entrusted with the task. It was not surprising that the theological and sociological discussion of the poll quickly went beyond the idea of a mere "religious questionnaire." It was then necessary to establish from the theological, sociological and psychological points of view the real significance of a religious statement spontaneously made, the kind of response that can be obtained only in an interview. To get material of this kind it was decided finally to use the interview method to gather information on the general attitude of young people toward religion. The interviewers noted down which religious questions were answered immediately and which were answered with hesitation. They avoided gathering rationalized answers by the use of cards marked with appropriate scales and by employing questions designed to produce "free associations," a technique borrowed from the empirical psychology of religion. For example: "What do you think of first when you hear the word 'church'?" The main emphasis, however, was upon ascertaining by means of factual questions an idea of the person's actual attitude toward religion; a large number of questions of attitude or opinion were also employed, the answers to which required psychological interpretation.

The data gathered has made it possible to go far beyond the bounds of the original study, to penetrate into the structures of the folk church and interpret the religious mentality of a person living under the social and cultural conditions presently prevailing in West Germany. We can give here only a few hints along this line.

Protest against Compulsion

A person's religious attitudes, the findings show, are connected to an extraordinary degree with the person who mediates religion to him. His attitudes derive from personal contact, and he tends to identify religious values with those who communicate them. Truths are not judged and accepted or rejected on their own merits. The decisive factor is the personality of the bearers of those truths. To put it in somewhat exaggerated form, people judge God by their pastors. It is extremely interesting to note that the issue is not the failure of religion but the failure of its representatives, not the impression

gained of religious truth, but the genuineness of those who are its bearers.

Alongside this personal dimension in the acquiring of values is a tendency to regard the question of faith as a subject taught in school. In the life of the average individual the decisive encounter with the church and with religion is compulsory confirmation instruction. A person takes part in the instruction for reasons of social prestige, but in the process educational experiences become fixed which up to an advanced age associate religion in the person's mind with the experience of compulsion. The protests always being raised against religious constraint and against the rigid institutional side of the church, and the assertion of the legitimacy of doubt seem to have their roots here. It is quite obvious that the question of "world view" is not the only source of difficulties of belief. If a person rejects the fact of encounter with God, that is not only an assertion that there is "no more room" for God; it is also a symptom of rebellion against the suppression of doubt in general. To a large extent we are here dealing with a "schooldays" religion, going back to the time when people had religious instruction in school or confirmation class, and not with religious experiences the individual has had on his own.

Finally, a person's religious attitude is definitely coupled with emotional experiences. The protest against compulsion, which is a negative emotional reaction, and such things as the warm, pleasant atmosphere at Christmas services are determining factors in laying a person's religious foundations or in disposing him toward whatever religious knowledge he may come to possess. His knowledge of Bible passages or hymn verses, e.g., is traceable to emotional experiences such as these.

The Decisive Role of Human Factors

All this has dramatic implications for the whole missionary strategy of the church and for the structure of its life. As far as can be seen, no conclusions have yet been drawn with reference to preaching, teaching or pastoral care. One question that might be raised, e.g., would be whether confirmation instruction in its present form is perhaps possible only in a "Christian society." The present practice obscures the fact of the freedom of faith and so distorts the very image of God.

Social pressure causes people to experience religion as something compulsory. As a result a personal concept of God is pushed far into the background. The data gathered leads one to suspect that not more than about 10 per cent of those interviewed still have a personal conception of God. The vast majority moves in a haze of conceptions and regards religion as an ideology.

One of the most depressing things the poll brings to light is that religious certainty conforms to certain laws beyond the control of the individual. The sharp drop from those with a positive attitude to religion to those in the next categories shows quite clearly that the religious certainty of the individual is in inverse ratio to the degree that the religious question is stated in intellectual and dogmatic terms and to the degree that the question is put to his own decision. Religious consciousness tends on the one hand toward dependence and security and on the other toward a meditative type of certainty based on feeling. The more a sermon brandishes weapons from the theological arsenal, the less inclined a person is to go along with it. Explicitly theological preaching is—from the empirical point of view—not missionary preaching.

The conclusion is that the majority of those interviewed want nothing to do with independent intellectual struggle to arrive at their own decisions in religious matters. They allow the conditions of their own past and the social significance of religious questions to determine their decisions. In matters of doctrine their orientation is pluralistic and elastic. The primarily human factors are decisive: the attitude of one's family toward religion, or contacts with other people—but not independent intellectual wrestling with the religious question. Religious conviction is guided by one's relations with his fellow-men. Transference of religious values is high where those relations are positive. The complete failure of home mission efforts to influence the sphere of the family is a conspicuous fact brought out by the poll.

Implications for Theology

The course of Protestant theology in recent years has not produced any real stimulation of religious life. It represents rather the interesting phenomenon of the restoration of the autonomy of theology. The issue at stake was the church's understanding of itself over

against totalitarian ideologies, and the appropriateness of preaching when compared with God's self impartation. It was a reinterpretation of theology's conception of its task. But it was not a reawakening. Hence in the church's witness "theology" is a surface factor. The facts testify to that. For the individual of today the effective factor in witness—even when it leads him to the brink of an intellectual abyss—is the impact of communication: one's "experience," or the face-to-face encounter with another person.

Finally, there is no doubt but that studies of this kind can provide practical theology with important stimuli. Up till now it has been the custom of practical theology to borrow from the other theological disciplines. By conducting studies like this on its own it can, as it were, see to it that theology remains realistic. For theology is after all not a monologue. It can be carried out and understood only as an encounter with and a response to the world outside theology.

HANS-OTTO WÖLBER

Great Britain

Clinical Training at Oxford

In the September, 1958 issue of Lutheran World Robert Fischer reported on the first year of the Lutheran tutorship at Oxford. Dr. Fischer has now returned to his post as professor at Chicago Lutheran Theological Seminary, Maywood, Illinois. His successor, Dr. William Hulme of Wartburg Theological Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa, here describes a new development in the tutorship.

THE EDITOR

The traditions that have developed in Oxford University's 800-year history are perhaps more impregnable than those of most other educational institutions in the world. Instead of having classes such as an American university would have, teaching centers in the tutor system, where the student spends approximately an hour each week alone with each of his two assigned tutors. Lectures are offered, but attendance is voluntary, and no tests and grades are given. During the

three long vacation periods the student is given work to prepare in solitude—called "collections"—and he is tested on this when he returns.

Within this traditional format of tutorials, lectures and collections, theological education at Oxford has had a traditional core curriculum of biblical exegesis and patristic studies. Psychology of religion is offered but nothing that would compare to pastoral psychology, pastoral counseling or clinical pastoral education. Nor is this unusual for English theological education as a whole. Britain has her Leslie Weatherhead and others like him, but the incorporation of the insights of dynamic psychology into pastoral activities has scarcely penetrated theological education. When I began to lecture in "Pastoral Counseling," the response showed that this was something the students wanted. However there was some concern among the faculty about the title: it lacked an academic ring.

But Principal John Marsh of Mansfield College—one of the many colleges and permanent halls that make up Oxford University—felt differently. During his several sojourns in the United States he had visited many of our theological seminaries and had realized the need of the clinical aspect for pastoral education. Together we decided to inaugurate a clinical pastoral education program at Oxford. The first mental hospital I visited offered us the privilege of attending weekly clinical and diagnostic staff sessions. Because the ratio of patients to psychiatrists was twenty to one, however, the administrator felt that adding another intensive relationship in the person of a student chaplain might be disturbing.

Care and Cure of Souls

The second mental hospital in the area gave us the opportunity of visiting the patients. The psychiatrist in charge selected the patients for four of our senior students, and made the necessary arrangements for the introductions. We have had excellent cooperation with the staff, who have offered us helpful information and suggestions. The thing that impressed me in both these hospitals was the absence of the familiar key ring and locked doors.

As a whole English institutions do not have chaplains in the sense of a clinically trained chaplain supervisor. As a result I function

in this capacity. The clinical work is done in conjunction with my lecture series in this area, which, incidentally, is now called "Pastoral Theology: the Care and Cure of Souls." Our students are alert and responsive. In the English system only the very brightest of students receive scholarships to attend what we would call academic high schools. In addition only a choice selection of these would be admitted to Oxford. So the speed with which they have taken hold should have come as no surprise. Of course they do not like to write up their interviews with patients any more than American theological students do, but they are getting a taste of clinical experience and their appetite is growing. Our problem for next term is that we have a waiting list of students, and we are hoping the hospital will permit us to expand our program.*

WILLIAM E. HULME

Italy

Evangelism in a Roman Catholic Context

This article originated in a paper read to the synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Italy by the Rev. Idelmo Poggioli, a former Roman Catholic priest. He has studied for several years at the Istituto Biblico in Naples and founded three small congregations in the neighborhood of Naples which were taken into the Lutheran church of Italy in 1957. As a result even the smallest of the European Lutheran minority churches, which comprises nine congregations with about 5,000 members, has laid aside its character as a church consisting exclusively of immigrants and foreigners. Along with the former Baptist preacher Domenico Giani, who was trained at the Waldensian faculty, Pastor Poggioli was ordained to the ministry of the Lutheran church in May, 1958. At the same time the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Italy celebrated its tenth anniversary.

THE EDITOR

* It has. (Editor)

WE ITALIAN PROTESTANTS have a double task today. Whereas we are on the one hand called to proclaim the gospel to our people, the whole gospel of Jesus Christ without human accretions, on the other hand we have the task of facilitating within the Roman church every possibility of reform and renewal along evangelical lines.

We Protestant Christians have to proclaim this gospel in Italy, not only we preachers and pastors of congregations, but in a broader sense all the members of our church. Evangelism consists not only in the words we proclaim, but perhaps even more in the evangelical behavior of us Protestant Christians. Jesus said in the Sermon on the Mount that "unless your righteousness exceeds that of the scribes and Pharisees, you will never enter the kingdom of heaven." To give these words a contemporary application: if our righteousness, which we have through faith alone, is not better than that of Roman Catholic Christians, our evangelism will accomplish nothing. And for this reason it is in the first place the responsibility of the pastors to make their congregations grasp the necessity of evangelism, so that they support this work not only financially, but much more with their faith as demonstrated in a Christian life. A person molded by evangelical faith can evangelize through the fact that his conscience is simultaneously free and bound to the word of God; through the clarity and correctness of his living, which is independent of human authorities and trusts in God alone; and through a broad understanding which is ready to forgive because Christ has also forgiven us.

Faith Active in Love

On the other hand a good knowledge of Lutheran theology is needed for evangelism. It is often said that the problem of the Lutheran Reformation is no longer relevant today, because the church situation as it was in Luther's time no longer exists. But this is only partly true. Anyone who has only a slight acquaintance with the practice of the Roman church knows how important indulgences are, especially among the simple people. The doctrine that the church is appointed to administer the supernumerary merits of the saints traffics in souls and contradicts the gospel of justification through grace alone.

For this reason we must distinguish rightly between the proper use of law and gospel. God rules the world through both, and through both reveals himself. His law makes demands upon us and condemns us, and his gospel comforts and renews us. Thus the relation between God and man stands under both law and gospel. Where this personal relation between God and man is lacking, faith becomes dormant and the Christian life runs the risk of becoming secularized. In contrast to the Roman church, ours has no cut and dried answers to all the problems with which life presents us. We have to ask for these answers in brotherly conversation in the light of the word of God and under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

Finally we must not forget that the new life to which we are called through justification demands a visible expression in this our earthly life. That means then faith active in love. Love of one's neighbor, social work, improvement of living conditions—all these are indispensable elements of evangelism. If we really take to heart the lot of our neighbor to whom we proclaim the gospel, we cannot fail to take social action. The preaching of the word, the healing of the sick and the feeding of the hungry go hand in hand in the ministry of Jesus. It is thus that the gospel was spread abroad in the world, and we can do no other in our own work of evangelism than to carry the good news further in the same way.

Longings Within

We who left the Roman church when at a certain moment we came to recognize the truth are not the only people with a burning desire for renewal through the gospel. That desire is shared by many Roman Catholics, who nevertheless have neither the courage nor the strength to make the final break with a tradition which is secularized in many of its aspects. Finally, these feelings are shared by countless people who find themselves, practically speaking, outside Roman Catholicism but at the same time hesitate to join another church and prefer to remain independent in their belief. But the roads leading to sterile individualism are thronged with independent believers. The Italian people as a whole are not irreligious. It is only that their Christianity is heavily overlaid with superstition. This is largely bound up with

the fact that the official church has deviated from the pure gospel. The Roman Catholic hierarchy, rather than listening to the voices of protest which have been raised repeatedly in the course of the centuries from within its midst, has instead silenced them through open or secret persecution. For this reason we left the Roman church; it is not that we have abjured the faith of our fathers, but that we have rediscovered it in a much purer form in the fellowship of Lutheran Christians which has arisen in Italy and which answers a profound need for Christian renewal. We can say that the present religious situation in Italy results directly from the lack of a reformation. Italy did not have its reformation not because it perceived no necessity for it, but because all the efforts toward this end were stifled at the outset.

What path should we follow in the new climate of religious freedom which is now said to prevail in Italy? At the apostolic council in Antioch Paul and Peter agreed that the one should give his attention to the evangelizing of the pagan world and the other to that of his own Jewish people. Applied to our situation this means that the Christian church always has to carry out its task under a dual aspect: as mission to those without and to those within. As Lutheran Christians in Italy we want to contribute to a more profound and more correct knowledge of the gospel, to the conviction that salvation is to be found in Christ alone. This evangelism at the same time forms a bond between us and the other Protestant churches in Italy.

Our proclamation of the pure gospel also benefits the Roman church. Under the influence of the Reformation in Germany the Roman Catholic church has also undergone a change and has adopted many features of the Protestant churches. Hymns in the vernacular sung by the congregation during the mass, the regular preaching of the gospel during the mass, the worship of Christ before Mary and the saints, efforts to combat superstition, and many other features in situations where Roman Catholics and Protestants are neighbors, can be looked upon as a fruit of evangelism beneficial to the Roman Catholic Christians. From the standpoint of Christianity as a whole, therefore, there is no need to set our evangelism in opposition to the Roman church. On the contrary, our Roman Catholic brethren can be grateful to us for our efforts to disseminate a more profound knowledge of the gospel in Italy.

Unfortunately that opinion is not shared by the authorities of the Roman church. They do not accept the contribution of the Protestant church to the evangelization of their nation. That brings us into conflict with them, for whether a person can live as an evangelical Christian within the Roman church is a question that in Italy at least is difficult to answer. In practice probably many do. On the other hand, we cannot enter into any compromises in questions of confession of our faith. Thus in our practice of evangelism we should bear in mind that our evangelism is a contribution to the building up of the true catholic church on the basis of the gospel, that is, Christ. And our evangelism is a call to confess the true gospel which separates us from a distorted gospel.

Not Mass Evangelism

As far as method is concerned, the best approach is that of friendly, brotherly, spiritual contact with any person who enters into conversation with us on the subject of the gospel. The method of mass evangelism is premature for Italy. In spite of the fact that the constitution permits the existence of non-Roman religious groups, in practice so many difficulties arise as to make mass evangelism unfeasible. But even if, under a really neutral government, this method could be applied one day, personal evangelism would still remain the better and more effective method. Mass evangelism must always be followed up by personal evangelism in any case.

Personal evangelism often leads to the formation of a Christian fellowship or congregation whose members must later be responsible for catechetical instruction and, as soon as possible thereafter, for an elementary school and a secondary school. These schools and catechetical courses are indispensable in a country like Italy, where the public school is a denominational school. The confessional nature of the public school manifests itself not only in religious instruction, which is given by the priests of the particular diocese concerned, but also in the textbooks used, in which repeated emphasis is laid upon the worship of saints and the traditionalism of human ordinances in the church.

The Protestant school must also be supported by Lutheran press work. The press is after all a power in all areas, in politics

as in religion. If in all areas today there is a need for more and for better knowledge, this is specially true in regard to religion. It is precisely the person in a state of crisis—who is often jealously concerned that he not be discovered by others—who would like to wrestle in private with the question of religion. To this end it must be possible to place the appropriate material at his disposal.

Firmness, Clarity, Love

The evangelism of a Protestant church in Italy is carried on then in a special situation differing in many respects from that in almost all other countries. It demands particular firmness and clarity in the confessing of our faith, but at the same time a particularly brotherly attitude to the people we encounter. More than Christians in many other parts of the world, we must ask ourselves whether our evangelism is really performing a service, a service which stands firm on the good ground of the gospel.

IDELMO POGGIOLI

Italy

The Descendants of the Waldensians

THE MEDIEVAL SECT of the Waldensians, familiar to church historians, is now, as everyone knows, one of the Reformed churches. People sometimes wonder what the modern heirs of such an ancient tradition do. I shall attempt to point out, by tracing our church's history, the problems which are most frequently discussed among us today.

The Waldensian Protest

The origins of the Waldensians have recently been the object of new research on medieval sources. Valdès (1140-1217; this appears to be the correct spelling of his name) was a merchant of Lyons, France, who, after hearing the words of the Lord to the rich young man, renounced all his goods in order to preach the gospel which he had had translated into the vernacular. At that time the companions of Valdès could hardly be called a sect. They protested against the rich and worldly clergy and preached an evan-

gelical call to total poverty, but at the same time they remained faithful to the dogmas of the church. The most recent Roman Catholic criticism tends to evaluate the Waldensian movement by comparing it with that of St. Francis of Assisi. The Italian saint, they claim, was wiser than his French contemporary in remaining obedient to Rome. But the Waldensians could not renounce free preaching as the pope and the bishops demanded. In 1946 a "Confession of Faith of Valdès" was published in which all the Catholic dogmas are acknowledged; also published was part of a Waldensian *liber antiheresis* of the same period (1181-1184), containing a refutation of Catharism. But the protest against the abuses practiced by the clergy were soon to lead the Waldensians to raise their questions on the level of Catholic doctrine itself. The first excommunication dates from the Council of Verona (1184). Nor were the Waldensians able to keep themselves free of the influence of other medieval sects, such as the Cathari and others. One may conclude from this that Valdès was no theologian. He did not give the movement any specific doctrine: subsequent documents reveal that the Waldensians had a variety of doctrines up to the time of the Reformation. A detailed study still remains to be made from the sociological and economic points of view. The Marxists often reproach historians with ignoring these two aspects of the question. The Waldensian movement, they claim, was religious in its "mode of expression" and was social at its "core." It is true that, coming as it does at the moment of transition from a feudal economy to one based on payment of wages, the Waldensian protest against the capitalist economy of the monastic cooperatives is interesting also from the economic point of view, as is the total poverty and the rejection of all private property preached and accepted by Waldensian artisans and merchants. Documentary evidence indicates that the problem of work was one of the points at issue among the Waldensians, some of whom maintained that it was necessary to live on alms, while others saw no contradiction between the preaching of the gospel and gainful labor.

From the Reformation to Free Evangelism

Before persecution led to its almost complete disappearance, the Waldensian movement had spread through the south of France

(Provence), northern Italy, Hungary, Bohemia, Alsace and Pomerania. In Provence and northern Italy the Waldensians were soon persecuted and reduced to seeking refuge in some of the Alpine valleys near Turin. Thus the Reformation of the 16th century found some communities which were already in their own way "Protestant." The Waldensian synod of Chanforan (1532) accepted after consideration the Reformed doctrines which were explained to them by the representatives of the Geneva Reformation. The present Confession of Faith of the Waldensian Church (1655) differs very little from the so-called Confession of La Rochelle. The historians are now discussing the question to what extent the doctrines and aspirations of the first Waldensians were conserved or suppressed in the course of the Reformation. In point of fact the history of the movement in the Middle Ages has for us today a value which is more informative and perhaps sentimental than it is theological. The very name "Waldensian Church" seems to be romantic in origin. In any case it ought to be possible to indicate the points of faith which connect the Reformed church with the Waldensian protest of the Middle Ages, the common love of the word of God, for example. There is also talk today of the "itinerant ministry" of pastors. That type of ministry was characteristic of the early Waldensian movement and it ought to be reassessed today with an eye to its value in evangelism.

Towards the middle of the 16th century there were Waldensian pastors at work in southern Italy. And in 1315 there certainly existed communities in Calabria (where I am writing this). But persecution was violent. In eleven days two thousand men were killed. Some escaped, the others had to recant. In the Waldensian valleys of Piedmont the Waldensians offered armed resistance in defense of their liberty. They were finally driven into Switzerland in 1686, but in 1689 they returned, still fighting, to their homes. It was the courage of these fathers which ensured the existence in modern Italy of an indigenous Protestantism. The presence of these Protestants was to continue to pose for the kings of Piedmont, the House of Savoy, the problem of liberty, a problem to which the Italian Catholic tradition was a stranger. In the period of the *Risorgimento* the problem was taken up afresh and resulted finally in the political unification of the peninsula and in the constitution of the Italian state, over

which the House of Savoy was to reign. Not until 1848 did the Waldensians obtain civil rights.

Research is now being carried out on the connections between Protestantism and the extremely complex political and cultural movement known as the *Risorgimento* which enabled Italy to become a united and independent country. During the *Risorgimento* religious and political ideas intermingled and complemented one another. It was a heroic atmosphere, engendered by the mingling of many philosophical professions of faith, by a great love of liberty and by a rare courage in maintaining the new ideas, whether by arms, pen or before the execution squad. In this climate, which has never returned to Italy since, the peninsula became filled with religious evangelism movements which had arisen among the Italian exiles in Great Britain and other countries and had been transported to Italy. Several movements gave rise after a long history to evangelical churches or groups which are still living and carrying on good work. At that time the Waldensian church frequently gave the impression that it was too bourgeois, too strictly ordered with its synodal discipline and dogmatically too rigid to interpret the religious aspirations of the Italian people. The fact remains that it has established and now maintains the greatest number of Protestant congregations in the whole peninsula.

The Evangelistic Task Today

All our churches are (or ought to be) centers of evangelism. This aspect of our churches' life has recently been subjected to criticism, and many problems still remain. Ten years ago the question had been formulated thus: Are we called to preach to Galatians (the Roman Catholics who have lost the true doctrine of the gospel) or to Athenians (people who are Christian only in name)? There is another criticism: we must abandon the method of individual evangelism, of short-sighted proselytism, and must present the Reformation to the Italian people. These questions were framed much too radically. In fact, explains Professor Valdo Vinay, "the aim of preaching the gospel among the Roman Catholics and non-Christians cannot be simply that of transforming Italy into a Protestant nation. It is a case of building up the Protestant communities which act as leaven in the Catholic corpus."

Finally I shall recall a recent statement by Professor Miegge:

We have a great responsibility. There are thousands of people in Italy who would like to hear a clear and strong message which they themselves cannot precisely formulate. They expect to receive it from us because they have the impression that we ought to know how to express it clearly. We are at one and the same time the heirs of the ancient Christian faith, tenaciously preserved and freely relived, and men of our time who for four centuries past have never refused to enter upon the most dramatic adventures of modern thought. These two qualities constitute our originality. They enable us to feel ourselves on the one hand in communion with the most open-minded representatives of Roman Catholicism, and on the other hand in harmony of thought and of political and moral feeling with the most liberal men in the world of lay culture.... It is this intermediary position between the two great spiritual forces which between them wield influence in Italy which constitutes our originality and the imperative of our evangelism.

"Agape"

"Agape" is a youth center in the Waldensian valleys and is widely known abroad. In recent years it has assumed more and more the character of an "Evangelical Academy." It is no longer simply a place where young people can meet and study. It gathers together in turn mothers, workers, intellectuals, etc. Among the guests who come to give lectures are sometimes people well known in the universities or in ecumenical circles.

The origins of Agape were modest. It was a question of building a village for Italian Protestant youth. The idea was discussed before the war. After the war it was taken up again, but there was no longer any question of building a house just as if nothing had happened in between. At the end of the war it was possible to be with good reason an atheist and unbeliever in relation to the God of love whom the church had preached; or it was possible to have grown capable, out of the depths of the abyss of pain and death, of hearing and paying heed to the voice of Him who declared his love, his "agape" to a world disfigured by hatred. It was a question of showing that this voice had been

heard and of responding to it. The response could not be simply verbal, however. The war had wreaked destruction: it was necessary to construct, to build by hand. That is how Agape was built by young people from all countries and all churches. Agape is an ecumenical undertaking. The young people of Italy, of course, profit most by it. Not only have they been able to emerge from their isolation, but in addition they have been able to get to know one another and to set themselves new aims.

Agape's entry into the field of social work among people in the underdeveloped areas of Italy represents a response to the call which the God of love continually addresses to us. The needy man teaches us that we too have need of God. There is a mystery in the man who is truly needy, truly in need of life: it is the desire of Agape to discover this mystery, that is, the secret relation which this man and we ourselves have with Christ, who himself experienced poverty and continues to know it as long as one person remains in need.

We know that our love is always inadequate, but we know also that we must be obedient to the calling which God addresses to us as he makes witness of his love to us.

SERGIO ROSTAGNO

Bibliography

Gonnet, *Enchiridion Fontium Valdensium*, I, 1179-1218 (Torrepellice, 1958).

Santini, *Die waldensische Bewegung und die waldensische Kirche* (Vallecrosia, Imola, 1958); written on behalf of the Casa Valdese; 25 pp.

Spini, *Risorgimento e Protestanti*, 1956.

A very good description of the social and political situation in Italy and of the evangelism being carried on there by the Waldensian church appeared in the WCC *Monthly Information Letter on Evangelism*, No. 2, February 1958, in an article by Musacchio, "The Waldensian Church."

Sweden

Bringing the Gospel from its Ghetto

THE SIGTUNA FOUNDATION is the product of a new turn taken by theology in the Church of Sweden fifty years ago. The prevailing elements in the ideological conflict in Sweden at that time were petrified orthodoxy

and individualistic pietism on the one hand, and a Darwinist faith in evolution and a socialism estranged from the church on the other. In this situation the thinking of a few professors and students in Uppsala gave birth to a dynamic alternative. In place of petrified orthodoxy there appeared in this circle an interpretation of Scripture and dogma which was concerned more with God's speaking in history and to real people than with a suprahuman system of letters and ideas. In place of individualistic pietism there emerged the message that God judged and blessed not only the soul and the individual, but national life and society as well. In place of Darwinist faith in evolution the living God was proclaimed—the God who intervenes in history, and through Christ and his gospel opens the future to peoples and civilizations. In place of Marxism, which at that time preferred to look upon Sweden as two classes rather than one people, there emerged the growing conviction that God in his righteousness and mercy had called this nation to a common calling and a common future in which antitheses were transformed into common tasks.

Einar Billing

The theology behind these views was the fruit of thorough research, partly in the New Testament, partly in Luther's world of thought. Professor Einar Billing, later bishop of Västerås and perhaps the most important thinker in the circle, saw in the petrified biblicalism and dogmatism of orthodoxy a consequence of the Greek conception of history, which sets out from general concepts and so leaves no room for changes in history. The biblical conception of history Billing saw as a dynamic one. Its starting point is not an idea, but the deliverance from Egypt and the passage through the Red Sea. "The essential element in the Bible is the *history* which is given us through its message. That history did not come to an end but continues on into the present" (Gustaf Wingren in the article on Einar Billing in *Nordisk Teologisk Uppslagsbok*). Essential to Billing's thought is the idea that the starting point of the biblical conception of history is the election of Israel, i.e., an act of grace in which God intervenes in history. In Christ there is another such act of election and intervention, this time one conclusive in its validity. When the gospel is preached in the midst of a people, that election in Christ is operative

there and the history of that people is decisively determined by it: God intervenes.

These ideas, which obviously foreshadow later theological developments, were elaborated in two directions, with Luther as the starting-point. The point at which God's elective grace in Christ intervenes in the history of a people is according to Billing the *church*, not the church as an abstract concept, but concretely the small parish church, where God judges and forgives the whole man and the whole communal life of the parish. Thus Billing applies Luther's statement that the church is the forgiveness of sins to the thousand-year influence of the church in the parish, the diocese and the nation as a whole, an influence which transforms history and reshapes customs, civilization, laws, yes, even the landscape.

Billing's work on Luther's doctrine of the calling was also important. It is characteristic of his theology that he regarded the calling above all as a proof of God's grace, and urged, in opposition to spiritualizing piety, that daily life is an encounter between God and man. This was at a time (1909) when many were bound to find such ideas difficult to comprehend and would look at them askance.

The Student Crusade

Alongside Billing, J. A. Eklund, a pastor in Uppsala and later bishop of Karlstad, must also be mentioned. In the local parish church Eklund found both the starting point and the touchstone of all thinking on the church. This conception came to exercise a decisive influence upon the whole movement. When it came to applying the ideas of the Uppsala circle to the contemporary situation and translating them into practical church work, however, the leader was a young layman, Manfred Björkquist. Later to become bishop of Stockholm, he was at that time a director of adult education and the leader of the Student Christian Movement in Uppsala. He translated the new theology of the circle into educational, philosophical and politico-cultural categories. He also saw to it that the ideas emanating from the theologian's study were disseminated throughout the whole Church of Sweden.

The chief vehicle of dissemination was the "student crusade" which Björkquist set in motion and directed. In 1909 students from

Uppsala and Lund set out to traverse the whole of Sweden, preaching in the churches as they went, giving addresses in all sorts of meeting places and holding discussions with workers. Their slogan was: "Sweden's people—God's people." What the slogan was emphasizing was not any heroic deeds of the Swedish people, nor any outstanding qualities they possessed, but their calling from God through the gospel which in the present age as in the past had in every situation asserted God's gracious will for them. A new hymn from the pen of Eklund, who was also a poet and perhaps the most important Swedish hymn-writer in modern times, followed the "crusaders" as they went: "Church of our fathers in Sweden's land...."

Called to "Cultural Action"

Some years later, Björkquist, the leader and organizer of the "crusade movement," established a center for its work. What outlines was such an institution to assume? If it was to accord with the ideas of the new movement, it obviously had to be more than a home for the movement itself, however much it might require such a building. The new center, it was felt, had to be just that: a meeting place where the gospel could confront all the nation's varied groups and aspirations. That much followed from the movement's new concept of the church. And because within the Church of Sweden the gospel was variously understood and interpreted, it was particularly necessary that the center be open to all these schools of thought as well as to Christian movements outside the church. To borrow an expression of Bishop Anders Nygren at the Amsterdam Assembly of 1948, the center was to be a place where other schools, other churches and other confessions were asked how they understood the gospel.

If the conceptions of church and national life emerging in the movement were to be taken seriously at the center, especially if the Lutheran doctrine of the calling was to be paid adequate attention, it was not enough simply to establish an area of contact between the gospel and society. At a center such as this, questions which are not usually described as "religious" also had to be keenly felt: questions of law and order, education and culture, work and welfare. The church was not to take over such affairs as belong to the secular realm. Nor was the idea to create an

island of Christian civilization, insulated from and protected against the world. Rather, the church was called *as the church* to intervene in the world's need. If the hospitals operated by society are inadequate, a movement of impatience emanates from the church's center—from the gospel itself—and urges upon those immediately responsible the need that exists and the need to act. If therefore Christian social action is necessary—not to increase the influence of the church but to serve those who suffer—should there not also be Christian cultural action? And should not such action be a task for just such a center which seeks to be an area of contact between the gospel and the world? Social and cultural problems are after all frequently a question of contact. When therefore the church builds a center for communication and contact between the gospel and national life, it must at the same time consider that society falls into different language areas with various customs and ways of thought, and that communication and contact between them are sometimes very poor. It must also note that the treasures of knowledge and culture are inaccessible to young people in many sections of society and in many localities, and that this is also a problem in communication.

Finally, it was also felt that the projected center must stand in the stream of events. It must avoid getting hung up on questions which have long since lost their relevance, and it must have the opportunity of constantly encountering new problems and of intercepting ideas and decisions as they are still developing. All this followed from faith in the living God, who intervenes with his gospel in the passing moment and there creates new history.

Freedom to Act

Christian social action, Christian cultural action—these terms had not yet been coined when the Sigtuna Foundation was established. And developments at Sigtuna over the decades have in fact differed in many respects from what its founders envisaged, for from the beginning up to the present the work of Sigtuna has not followed a blueprint drawn up at a desk but the laws of life and growth. Behind its present work in its many ramifications and behind the changing ways of expressing its task in words, one can see the basic ideas which inspired the founding

of "Sigtuna." Throughout Sigtuna's whole development it has also been possible to discern that it was not founded by order of the church or the state and is not responsible to either. Sigtuna has retained the marks of its origin in an active movement which treasured the freedom of personal initiative. That conception of personal initiative shaped the basic statutes of the foundation, which do grant the church a certain amount of influence on the development of the foundation but yet give its leaders enough freedom and independence to make swift and bold decisions possible. The point of view "built into" Sigtuna's structure also prevents its development from becoming fettered to powers and heritages other than the gospel—including the crusade movement itself and its past. This last point is particularly significant. Not many important movements in church history have been generous enough to leave their doors open to new ideas and other schools of thought within the same tradition. In describing here the path taken by developments at Sigtuna down to the present, one should keep in mind that we are talking about a dynamic happening which still has room for new ideas and is always open to renewal.

Sweden's First Capital

The place chosen for the projected institute was Sigtuna, the first capital city of Sweden, but of little importance since the 16th century and at the beginning of the 20th century more a village than a city. Situated on Lake Mälaren, between Stockholm and Uppsala, it is centrally located and yet sufficiently off the beaten track to afford the necessary seclusion.

"Sigtuna" was launched as a "folk high school" (an adult education institute) and a rest house. The folk high school is a Nordic invention and has exceptional significance in Scandinavia. It invites young people who have been earning a living for some years to pursue courses of study which can contribute to the development of their personality and their capacity for independent judgment. A Nordic folk high school is not a night school, but a residential institute where young men and women live for several months of study. Its purpose is not to pump certain courses into them, but to get them to think independently as they come to an understanding of the problems surrounding the various areas of culture.

The folk high school of the Sigtuna Foundation takes about 115 such students each year. Distributed according to their qualifications and previous education along three levels, they live at Sigtuna from October through May. Then in early summer a few courses of briefer duration are offered. The students come from all sections of society, and represent all the opinions on political and religious questions found in the Swedish nation as a whole.

The rest house has about 45 guests daily who come there for a period of rest, study or writing. The house is of importance especially for writers and scholars, and no mean proportion of modern Swedish literature has been written there.

The rest house and the folk high school provided the necessary bases for the third branch of our work, conferences. As early as the twenties, a period when industrial life in Sweden was marked by conflicts and severe tensions, Sigtuna invited workers and employers to talk over the difficult situation. That step turned out to be one of the sources of the present-day industrial peace in Sweden. In the same way workers and students, poets of various schools, doctors and theologians, artists and pastors, as well as other groups, have all received invitations to conferences. It is not necessary that pastors or theologians attend every conference. In the first place lay people also belong to the church, and in the second place the conferences seek to be a bridge not only between the church and other groups, but between all sorts of groups within society as well. And the church by no means always constitutes the bridgehead. I should also like to emphasize that a conference between doctors and pastors, let us say, does not aim at instructing only the doctors. The aim of the conferences is not to convince "the others." In Sigtuna there are no "others." Instead there are problems to be solved, and they cannot be solved without a mutual exchange of ideas. The problems take first place, and for this reason it is usually only experts who are invited to take part in these conferences. Only a few times a year are courses held to which anyone may come.

The fourth branch of our work is the classical school founded in 1927 under the leadership of Dr. Arvid Bruno, an educator and an Old Testament scholar. A coeducational boarding school with about 400 pupils, it consists of four elementary grades and four on the high school level leading to the

school-leaving examination. The school serves especially those families who live a long way from a secondary school or are working abroad and need a Swedish school for their children.

An Early Ecumenical Center

Ecumenical work follows three channels. In the first place all branches of our work are open as a matter of course to people of all confessions, so that the work undertaken together daily bridges the differences between confessions. Secondly, the Sigtuna Foundation cooperates with similar institutions in Sweden and abroad. In 1954 Sigtuna issued invitations to a conference at which directors of lay academies in various countries laid plans for the establishment of the Directors' Association of these academies in Europe. The third channel is the Nordic Ecumenical Institute, an independent daughter institution of the Sigtuna Foundation and a center for bringing the Nordic churches into contact with one another and with the rest of the Christian world. This institute is also the headquarters of the inter-church aid committee of the Swedish church.

Offering important assistance in all this work are a library of about 65,000 volumes and archives containing about a million clippings from leading Swedish newspapers over the past thirty years or so.

The spiritual center of the work is the small church, where the bell calls daily to evening prayers, where the folk high school conducts its daily morning prayers, where Holy Communion is celebrated on Sundays and where during the week the director or his assistant receives people who want to have a serious talk or want to make confession.

Where does the money come from that makes all this possible? The Sigtuna Foundation is not the property of the church, nor is it directly administered by the church. But it receives from the church annually a so-called "national collection," that is, a collection taken at one of the main worship services in every parish in the country. The schools are supported financially by the state, receiving, e.g., the major portion of the money required for teachers' salaries. The pupils pay for their board, as do the visitors to the rest house and the participants at the conferences. A farm attached to the

institute also provides a certain amount of revenue. The rest comes from gifts and donations, a source of income without which the Sigtuna Foundation could neither have begun nor continued its work. It has been important for the free development of the foundation that in spite of the aid received from church and state, it is basically financed by neither.

no ulterior motives are to be discerned behind our service channels the eager questioning and the deep desire for an answer behind all the answers toward the gospel. It is precisely because the high vault of the church extends over all the problems of the nation and of society that the hidden need of the individual dares to come into the open and make itself known.

OLOV HARTMAN

Measuring the Results

What are the results of all the work of the 140 employees and the many committees, speakers, conference participants and active friends? Is the foundation furthering the influence of the church? Through their stay at Sigtuna, how many of the conference participants, the pupils and the guests become regular churchgoers or at least friends of the church? Do we succeed in convincing atheists and other people estranged from the church of the truth of the Christian faith? How many conversions take place each year at Sigtuna?

These questions we refuse to answer on principle. Is it worthwhile to heal the sick or help the poor? As in Christian social action, so also in Christian cultural action service is its own reward. Thousands of young people have been given the opportunity of making a better contribution to society and have been put into a position to make and express an independent judgment on the religious, political and cultural questions of the day. Open discussion between various groups and viewpoints has been furthered, and this has served to draw the gospel out of its ghetto—all too common throughout the world—of a special church language into the general exchange of ideas. Thus it has become an essential element in the general cultural discussion in Sweden.

The issue at Sigtuna is not a new form of *Kulturprotestantismus*, but the practice of evangelical faith. If the devotional life and the proclamation of the gospel in the midst of the exchange of ideas and knowledge at Sigtuna were purchased at the price of accommodation or compromise, that would indeed be a sign that our service was being offered with a certain end in view. But as a matter of fact it furthers the relevance of the exchange of ideas to have the gospel emerge in all its scandal. This also becomes clear again and again in Sigtuna: the very fact that

Czechoslovakia

The First Lutheran Church Building

THE FACT THAT THE LUTHERANS, like the Taborites and the Bohemian Brethren, were not originally interested in having their own type of church building, is probably directly connected with the attitude of Luther himself. Luther showed little inclination to reflect on what changes should be made in a church building to make it accord with Reformation teaching, how far its function was distinguished from that of earlier churches and how in consequence it would have to be differently furnished. Evidently he was hindered in making such reflections by his singular attitude which for a long time avoided a clear and firm concept of the church and shunned all externals.

Since he fought against the opinion that Rome was the center of the world and the pope with his bishops the basis of Christian truth—so that what the church commanded had the force of divine commandment—Luther arrived at the contrary conception that the only foundation of the church was the word of God while faith was the most essential mark of a Christian. Hence, the church was not something external but internal. We can all, he said, see the external Roman church; therefore it could not be the true church, for the true church is a congregation or gathering of the saints in faith. No one could see *who* was faithful or holy. The external signs which enabled one to tell where the true church was present were baptism, the sacrament and the gospel—not Rome, not this place or that. According to Luther the word of God is the sole foundation of the

church, and every Christian has the right to interpret Scripture.

Hence for a long time Luther evaded all questions of practical church order. Indeed, he even rejected church order.

It was only in 1526 that he came to see that a church could not manage without a fixed order and so began to be concerned about what he had formerly rejected. He now wrote the "German Mass" and in the years following made it his personal concern to visit individual congregations. Now he had something different to say about church orders: they are established for the sake of peace and good order.

In his sermon delivered on the occasion of the consecration of the first Lutheran church in Germany, the chapel in the castle of Hartenfels near Torgau, the Reformer also said hardly anything about the special character of the church building itself: "Churches do not have to be any better than other houses in which the word of God is preached"; and, "We are not commanded to build churches, but it is nevertheless good for the simple people." Thus the church is to be a truly functional building without splendor or outward piety. The sole purpose of a church building was to provide a place for Christians to come together to hear the sermon and receive the sacrament. Where this purpose was no longer being fulfilled, churches were useless and should be demolished as other houses were demolished when they no longer served any useful purpose. It was better, he said, to get rid of all the churches than to lose one's soul.

A New Church for Joachimsthal

Even prior to all this, however, in Bohemian territory about an hour's walk from the Saxon border, a mining town had been founded which was to become the home of what is really the oldest Lutheran church building. The town was in the neighborhood of the village of Konradsgrün, the name of which was changed only in 1517 to St. Joachimsthal. The powerful and wealthy Counts Schlik joined forces here in 1515 with Alex von Leisnig, Wolfgang von Schönberg, Johann Pflug und F. Tunshim to found Joachimsthal; Count Schlik played the decisive role in this affair. A mint was set up, where the highly coveted *Joachimsthaler* were produced, a coin from which both the German *Taler* and the American dollar derive their

names. In 1528 King Ferdinand compelled the counts to administer this mint "on behalf of the king" and in 1545, after the abortive rebellion of the Schliks, the king himself took over the mint.

In the narrow mountain valley hundreds of miners and shepherds had settled. But other craftsmen too, notably goldsmiths and other metalworkers, were attracted by the rich deposits of silver. Thus the town was hastily built up, without proper surveying of the ground and with frequent use of wood as a building material. In 1544, on the orders of Count Schlik, 14 houses on both sides of the stream had to be bought up and demolished because they were exposed to the dangers of fire and flood.

Because the Saxon border was so close, the ideas of the German Reformation gained swifter access in Joachimsthal than they did in the more distant regions of Bohemia. The Counts Schlik carried on correspondence with Luther. Up to that time there had existed only a small village church, the "hospital" or "cemetery church." Steps were therefore taken, without any great amount of theoretical reflection, to build a new church, which was destined to become the first "Lutheran" church in the true sense of the word. Our information on the subject was brought to light from the archives in 1913 by R. Schmidt and published in his *Topographie der historischen und Kunst-Denkmale im politischen Bezirk Joachimsthal*.

According to the records of the town council the first mass was read on St. Catherine's Day, i.e., on Sunday, November 25, 1537, in the as yet incomplete shell of the church. At that time the windows, the front wall and the ceiling were still missing; the roof was covered temporarily with shingles. The tower was also not yet completed. The building was not finished until 1540, and the interior decoration was carried out between 1542 and 1573.

The Architecture

This first Lutheran church represents an independent type of Protestant church building, which took over from the Catholic style of building no more than was necessary. What is typical of the building can be seen in its alterations of the usual interior, which was changed into a structure consisting of a single nave, with neither choir nor apse. The ratio of length to breadth is also changed. By employing a ratio of 152 feet to 86 feet in

the external dimensions of the building a considerably broader nave is obtained than in earlier churches. Both the count who commissioned the building and the architect refrained from laying emphasis on a choir. The choir lofts, arranged around the walls, and balanced by two rows of windows in Gothic style but framed by semicircular arches, emphasize the horizontal line. The same applies to the mighty roof. The slender octagonal tower at the front of the church, with its spiral staircase, formerly had a small cupola in Renaissance style; the turret on the roof was similar in shape, but it was not restored after a fire in 1873.

In fact the original style of the church as a whole fell victim to the fire. The reconstruction was undertaken in the spirit of the "restorers" of this period who gave preference to "pure Gothic" and took from the church most of the fine Renaissance fragments which

had remained intact. The windows were given pointed archs with Gothic tracery, and the tower was capped with a spire. The choir lofts disappeared and gave place to a pseudo-Gothic transformation of the interior. The single nave was divided into three naves.

Thus all that now remains from the 16th century is the moulding on the columns, and the three Renaissance portals. On the west portal can be seen a medallion depicting Count Stephan Schlik, a likeness resembling the bust made after his death. Today the baptistery is surrounded by an iron grill which formerly surrounded the font in the south corner of the church. In the sacristy there is a sandstone medallion, which is all that remains of the former tomb, dating from 1541, of the first wife of Count Lorenz Schlik, Katharina von Wartenberg.

EMIL EDGAR

BOOK REVIEWS

Infant Baptism and the Hidden God

LUTHERS LEHRE VOM VERBORGENEN GOTT. *Eine Untersuchung zu dem offenbarungsgeschichtlichen Ansatz seiner Theologie (Theologische Arbeiten, Vol. VIII).* By Helmut Bandt. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1958. 212 pp.

DIE LEHRE LUTHERS VON DER FIDES INFANTUM BEI DER KINDERTAUFE (Theologische Arbeiten, Vol. VII). By Karl Brinkel. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1958. 136 pp.

HELMUT BANDT's study of Luther's doctrine of the hidden God is, from the exegetical and historical point of view, without a doubt one of the most thorough ever made of the much discussed significance of the *deus absconditus* concept in Luther. Not the least of its virtues are the multiplicity and perceptiveness of its many individual observations. Equally valuable is the lucid discussion of previous Luther research on the subject, from Theodosius Harnack, Albrecht Ritschl and Reinhold Seeberg to Kattenbusch, Fritz Blanke and von Loewenich, to mention only a few of the most important names.

The study gives evidence of an impressive acquaintance with the sources. At times the author's criticism of other scholars is somewhat superior and schoolmasterish in tone, a fact which is probably related not only to his learning but to his own theological position as well. In the foreword he confesses that in the shaping of his theology he owes a great deal to Karl Barth, although now, after having worked his way into Luther's world of thought, he feels compelled to criticize his teacher's evaluation of Luther's doctrine of the *deus absconditus* (which Barth has rejected). Bandt is intelligent enough to see that Barth's conception of revelation has necessarily developed into something other than that held by Luther. Unfortunately, however, he has not been able to break completely with Barth and so sometimes approaches Luther with questions stated in typically Barthian terms, as the results bear evidence.

In the foreword Bandt expresses his thanks also to Prof. Rudolf Hermann who guided

the study at an early stage and to Prof. Heinrich Vogel of Berlin, whose theological position apparently left behind more traces of itself than did Hermann's. When a writer reveals his theological origins in this way already in the foreword, it is not surprising that in the study itself certain arguments typical of those origins show up. It is regrettable that the author was not able to let contemporary formulations of the questions as well as his own position recede into the background so that Luther himself could have his say.

With Bandt's methodology there is probably not so much to find fault. It would perhaps have been better had he seen fit to do more systematizing and synthesizing than he did. The question arises what purpose is served by all this minute work on Luther's statements at various stages of his career and in various groups of writings if the final results are so meager (see the summary on p. 203). Bandt comes up with three Luthers: (1) the "original" Luther of the early writings, (2) the "problematic" Luther of the chief Reformation writings of 1520-1530, and (3) the "late" Luther as seen primarily in the *Disputations* of 1530-1540 and the lectures on Genesis of 1535-1545. An exegetical-historical method is of course justified if it is used to throw new light upon a particular thought complex and if, proceeding from a certain stage in the study of that complex, it can demonstrate there a change in the thought, or a unity, which was previously in doubt. One comes away from the reading of this book, however, with the impression that the author was more concerned about giving evidence of his own learning than about actually saying something new and significant.

More serious than this fact, however, are the weaknesses that appear when the author comes to making purely systematic judgments. He is quite correct in saying that despite certain "shifts and modifications in thought in his overall view" (p. 180) Luther's doctrine of the *deus absconditus* is by and large a unified whole. The question remains, however, whether the unifying element lies, as Bandt maintains, in the fact that Luther's purely "christological" statements referring to God's hiddenness, while they decrease in importance after the first lectures on the Psalms, continue to exercise an influence on

his whole theology and particularly on his understanding of revelation (p. 43). But Bandt's term "christological," because it derives from a theology quite different from Luther's, is rather out of place. Naturally Luther's conception of revelation is "christological," if one means by that that Christ is the center of revelation. Hardly anyone has ever disputed that, though. The divining rod wielded by the author cannot be used to uncover what is typical of Luther because it has been borrowed from a theology where the concepts have quite another meaning than they do in Luther.

The distinctive element in Luther's concept of revelation is rather the distinction between law and gospel, which also determines the dialectic between *deus absconditus* and *deus revelatus*. *Deus revelatus*, like the law, stood in positive relation to man before Christ became a reality in man's consciousness. The author continually confuses the two perspectives of revelation: the genetic-*heils-geschichtlich*, i.e. the question of how the individual comes to knowledge of God's redemptive work, and the chronological-*heils-geschichtlich*, i.e. the question of how God acts in behalf of man's salvation. Since there is this continual confusion, the whole presentation of Luther's conception of the *deus absconditus* remains somewhat up in the air. Bandt's thesis (to take only one example) that to understand Luther's concept of the *deus absconditus* one must approach it through his concept of the *deus revelatus* is, from the chronological-*heils-geschichtlich* point of view, completely without meaning. That the thesis can even be posited is traceable only to an unfortunate dependence upon a theology alien to Luther's distinction between law and gospel.

The author asserts that Luther taught that before the Fall God was revealed to man in his naked majesty. If that were true, it would mean that God's hiddenness would have to be explained as a consequence of the Fall. Paradise is for Luther by no means a picture of perfection, however (WA 42, 173, 20 ff.). It is rather the beginning of the life that will come to perfection in heaven, in God's kingdom, in the resurrection of the dead and in eternal life (*lumen gloriae*). Justification, too, is only a beginning of grace (*lumen gratiae*): "*Primitiae*, i.e. the beginning, the start; he has started to create us, but he will perfect us as well. In this life we are his creation already begun, but perfection we

encounter only in the next world" (WA 45, 80, 34, *Predigten* 1537). Hence perfection and full knowledge of God do not as yet belong to man; he has been created to possess perfect insight into God's will but he is able to perceive that will only partly, when in a particular concrete situation he is confronted with God's law. Man is therefore bound to God's will only as it is revealed in a particular hour. His absolute will is in this life always hidden to theoretical knowledge. (Cf. WA 18, 672, 11-29 and WA 42, 116, 12-29.)

According to Luther, therefore, God in his absoluteness remains hidden at every point in the history of salvation down to the consummation. The Fall does not result merely in God's concealing himself; and the chief loss suffered by man is not a loss of his knowledge of God's revealed will, nor does redemption mean merely that that lost knowledge will be restored. In fact the question of salvation is for Luther not primarily a question of knowledge in the ordinary sense of the term. The knowledge Luther is concerned about in this context is the knowledge of whether God is gracious "to me." For him salvation means primarily that man receives a new will to obey God's will which he has encountered already in God's creative work in the world. Faith accepts the fact that God in this life remains the "hidden One," i.e. the absolute One over whom man does not dispose but whom he is bound to obey. God remains who he was from the beginning.

From the abundance of material available the author has drawn together a goodly number of Luther statements which, when properly understood, can provide us with a good picture of the coherent conception underlying Luther's idea of the *deus absconditus*. (There is then no need to speak of a "peculiar modification" in Luther's thought, as does the author on p. 83.) Bandt contrasts the fact of God's hiddenness to unbelief with the fact of his being revealed to faith. A further contrast is made between God's hidden workings in the history of the world and his self-disclosure in Jesus Christ, and, finally, between God's hidden, eternal counsels which the light of glory will first reveal to man's eyes and God's revelation of his saving will as that is proclaimed this side of glory.

In all three cases Bandt has not seen that Luther's concern is one and the same:

that God "hides himself in order to make himself known." That God should be hidden is inherent in his nature: "Deus est, qui absconditus est. Hoc est eius proprium" (WA 44, 110, 23). Since, however, it is also part of his nature to abase himself and make known his will, he comes to man in his word and becomes the revealed God (WA 43, 459, 24 ff.). One day our hearing of his word will be changed into a seeing him face to face; until that day he remains hidden. It is not our defective insight into God's absolute will that keeps faith from participating in God's saving love but our lovelessness and enslavement to the power of sin and evil—which God overcomes through his creative work of salvation in the world. To believe in the revealed God means that one believes not only in Christ but in the Creator as well, who makes his universal will known in his commandments and requires of men deeds which are to be performed in obedience to him and in response to the demands of a concrete situation. God's will cannot be derived from a rational principle of duty, love or righteousness. God is at once hidden and revealed, in both the *lumen naturae* (where as Creator he offers us life and makes known his revealed will) and in the *lumen gratiae* (where as Savior he offers us forgiveness of sins through faith alone). God never becomes something we can master intellectually and rule over; therefore he is always hidden. Luther's doctrine of the *deus absconditus* is in the last analysis an elaboration of the New Testament idea that we walk by faith and not by sight, that God guides his creation to its goal and consummation by overcoming the powers which entice man to "see" already in this life instead of "believing."

Bandt's study is nevertheless a learned piece of work which every Luther scholar will find it worth his while to read. It is not without serious deficiencies, however, which the uninitiated reader should be warned of if he is not to go astray in the maze of the christological interpretation of Luther.

"In the church the child should be taken for what he is—a child." This statement is not, as one might be tempted to believe, a quotation from a modern book on religious education. It comes from an interesting study of Luther's teaching on the faith of infants in baptism made by KARL BRINKEL, a pupil of Prof. Gerhard Gloege of Jena.

It is the first really thorough attempt to meet from Luther's own standpoint the objections which have been raised to infant baptism from various quarters. Karl Barth, for example, maintains that an infant is not possessed of consciousness and is therefore incapable either of decision for God or of faith in him. The author does not allow the typical questions of the current debate on baptism to determine his approach to the question. Nevertheless he does attempt to make a Lutheran contribution to the rethinking of the position of the child before God.

Brinkel's study is therefore written in a situation in which infant baptism, or at least the faith of infants as taught by Luther, is seriously questioned by many outstanding Protestant theologians. Before entering the debate itself, however, Brinkel first turns to Luther in an attempt to understand his statements on the subject in their historical and polemical context. His method is rigorously exegetical-historical (i.e. he works his way through Luther's writings one after the other) and systematic: he attempts to connect Luther's teaching on the faith of the infant with his theology as a whole, especially his conception of the church and baptism. This enables him to confront his findings with the present situation in Luther research on the subject and in systematics and theology generally. The result is a successful and from the scholarly point of view convincing effort to make Luther's voice heard and to show the agreement between Luther's view and that of the New Testament.

In the introductory survey of previous research on the subject (pp. 9-18) Brinkel shows that the difficulties and contradictions which scholars have thought it possible to demonstrate in Luther's teaching on baptism are traceable to the fact that they operated with a concept of faith foreign to Luther. Luther's teaching on the faith of infants in baptism can be fitted into the rest of his reformatory thinking very well if the various stages in the development of his thinking on baptism are properly interpreted. His apparently contradictory statements become quite coherent once one sees them in their proper polemical context: directed on the one hand against the Roman church's concept of grace as a substance and on the other against the rationalistic concept of faith among the Enthusiasts. When Luther asserts, first, that baptism apart from faith is of no avail and, second, that in baptism the infant

has faith of its own, this is by no means an oscillation between Enthusiastic and Roman conceptions of baptism, says Brinkel. The idea that the infant is baptized by virtue of the faith of the congregation or of his parents and sponsors, who believe for him, is not the constitutive element in Luther's thinking on the subject. It is a theory, introduced by Paul Althaus and others in connection with the "*oikos*" idea in the New Testament, which cannot be reconciled with Luther. When Luther uses the nominalistic term *fides aliena* in talking about infant baptism, it has a meaning other than that given to it in scholasticism. In Luther the term means that the congregation *prays* for the child, and this prayer Luther regards as a help to the child but not as a substitute for the child's own faith. Faith is for Luther not a human achievement but God's creation, worked through the word in the sacrament of baptism. Luther therefore conceives of faith not as a presupposition for the grace of baptism but as a passive hearing of God's saving word addressed to man. That word begins to sound already in baptism and then continues throughout a person's life, the child's reason and consciousness having developed in the meantime. Faith develops from a *Milchglaupe* into a determining element in the person possessed of consciousness.

The significant thing in the author's study lies in his strong emphasis upon the fact that the possession of consciousness must not be treated as a presupposition for God's saving work. Much of modern theology is still enchained to the belief held by Schleiermacher and idealism that human consciousness is the point at which God and man encounter one another. Luther does not mean that God deals with man apart from consciousness, so far as it is present in the individual. However he does not restrict God's workings only to the conscious person; God can speak also to the child who is not wholly aware of him. For Luther the difference between child and adult is not one of kind but degree. Hence one can speak of a child "believing"; that is to say, the child is in baptism addressed by God in his saving word and will gradually become aware of that fact.

This is a valuable aspect of the presentation, one which Brinkel could perhaps have dealt with at greater length. Related to it is his emphasis on the "formal" or typological aspect of Luther's anthropology. For Luther man is a being who, in contrast

to other creatures, has been created to praise his Creator as a conscious being. The creature praises his Creator in the state in which God has created him, and in this state God addresses his word to him. In other words, man does not first have to attain a certain stage of consciousness. Brinkel was not fully successful in bringing all this to light. But he shows he has glimpsed the proper relationship of it all to infant baptism when he emphasizes that according to Luther man has been created to trust in something other than himself. The word as addressed to man seeks to direct this trust with which man is created to the true God and to deliver him from a false confidence in things created or in an idol. In the little child this false confidence (or idolatry) has not yet become active. Sin is still "dormant." The child's faith is not conscious, but in baptism God comes to the child. "Faith" is God's presence in man as his Lord and Savior—not man's conscious acceptance of God.

If there is something we would fasten on to criticize in this extremely valuable study, it would be that the author has limited somewhat too sharply the framework of his presentation. That becomes evident when he attempts to prove, for example, that "for Luther it makes no difference if the person addressed by God—a small child, e.g.—possesses no consciousness as yet" (p. 95). The direct documentation the author adduces in support of this certainly correct thesis is rather scanty, and the reason is that he looked for it mainly in Luther's writings on baptism. Had he attempted to fit Luther's teaching on the faith of infants into a larger, more comprehensive context, he would have been able to find a considerably greater amount of material in support of his thesis. The frequently tacit presupposition of Luther's understanding of the sacraments is his conception of creation. The main reason why Schleiermacher, the Luther research under Kant's spell, and now Karl Barth, all have difficulty accepting Luther's teaching on the faith of infants is that in all three the idea of creation has been diluted and attenuated. For them God is no longer, in the same way that he is in Luther, the God continually creating and acting prior to and independent of man's awareness of him or his work. In the intellectualization of the concept of faith so common in modern theology, salvation has come to be understood as the bestowal of knowledge, from which creation and the

law are then derived. Brinkel has indeed intuited all this but has not been able to carry out fully his good intentions. He contents himself with showing that Luther's teaching on the faith of infants in baptism accords with his conception of baptism in general and of the church. He shows also that that teaching is consistently carried out and reinforced in Luther's statements on the faith of older children, *fides puerorum*. No matter what age he is, man can stand in a certain relation to God through his word, and his faith always involves his being oriented to God by God's grace alone. The author barely touches upon Luther's teaching on the faith of older children, but he does promise a continuation of the study.

In our day, when the training of Christian youth is more of a burning problem than it has ever been, when both confirmation and baptism are occupying the attention of theologians (not only in East Germany, where Brinkel lives, but in other countries as well), a continuation of this exemplary study of the child *coram deo* would indeed be welcome.

DAVID LÖFGREN

On the Frontiers of the Reformation

AU CŒUR RELIGIEUX DU 16^e SIÈCLE. By Lucien Febvre. Paris: Sevpén, 1957. 358 pp.

WORT UND MYSTERIUM. Edited by the Office for External Affairs of the Evangelical Church in Germany. Witten/Ruhr: Luther-Verlag, 1958. 247 pp. and indices.

One of the most characteristic features of the Lutheran Reformation is no doubt its failure: what set out to be a renewal of the faith of Christendom ended as a self-contained group of churches, for a long time as much limited to the Baltic littoral and its hinterland as ancient Christianity had been to the Mediterranean. Yet none who knows its history is unaware of the fact that there was no lack of attempts to break through these limits both in the 16th century and later. Their failure is a problem that in the

opinion of the reviewer has not yet sufficiently exercised the ingenuity of the historians.

On this as on many other questions a great deal of light is shed by this second posthumous collection of essays, articles and addresses by the late master of French Reformation history, LUCIEN FEBVRE. Take the case of Etienne Dolet, of Lyons, a biblical humanist in the style of Lefevre d'Etaples but also publisher both of Melancthon and the Genevan Reformers—nevertheless protesting his Catholicism, nevertheless burnt at the stake as a "Lutheran," nevertheless disowned by the Protestants. And what of his "free-thinking," his Ciceronianism both philological and philosophical which so strongly contrasts with his interest in the vernacular? Febvre tries not so much to solve this "hopeless case" as to present it to us in all its complexity. In this Western world of intellectual revolution, of a richness and unconventionality at least as sophisticated as that of Italy, the voice of Wittenberg is only one in a discordant chorus. No wonder it was heard so little.

Or take Febvre's opening essay on the origins of the French Reformation: Lutheran or Calvinist? French or German? Reformist or Protestant? Nothing but false alternatives, replies Febvre (giving us incidentally an excellent bibliographical survey of them). Let us rather ask what the Reformation wanted or, concentrated in one person, what Lefevre d'Etaples did: His work and that of his contemporaries was in answer to the quest for a renewal of existential religion, it satisfied "un immense appetit du divin" (p. 37) by giving the 16th century the Bible in the vernacular—which corresponds to a mobilization of the simple laity, corresponding in its turn to the contemporary simplification of the former feudal society—and the doctrine of justification by faith, a consolation that the medieval penitential system could no longer give to an age that was undergoing so radical a "révolution d'idées." But this revolution itself, admirably summarized by André Rousseaux in his review of this book (*Le Figaro Littéraire*, March 1, 1958), is in itself a highly complex phenomenon; in France, in the person of Lefevre d'Etaples, religious tendencies from many parts of the world and originating in many different spiritual aspirations, join hands. If we want to understand the "religious heart of the 16th century," says Febvre, we must forget the later confessional barriers as well as the national frontiers invented by another age,

all the particularisms and specific exclusive tendencies (p. 70). We must separate neither Luther from Michelangelo, nor Calvin from the "Libertins," nor yet Romanists from Anabaptists. It may be something of a shock, but a salutary one to the average Reformation historian, to see Febvre draw an instructive parallel between his two most intimate friends, Luther and Rabelais (p. 48).

Here we should like to insert a parenthesis in order to point briefly to three other aspects of Febvre's book. Those who like book reviews will find pure delight in reading part two, "Autour d'Erasmus," which contains reviews of some of the most distinguished Erasmus monographs of our age (Huizinga, Renaudet, Bataillon). The same may be said of such thumbnail sketches as those of Calvin, Bullinger and Descartes.

Next there is the religious sociology, of which France has long been the promised land. A perfect example of what can be done with this method is given in the essay on the transition of "The City of Amiens from the Renaissance to the Counter Reformation." Library catalogues, the change of fashion in Christian names, details of interior decoration from wills and inventories, are here made to tell their tale of a "change of climate." Nor is this method confined to this one case. We can see it at work everywhere in Febvre's essays, with their enormous mass of minute detail out of which grows one total picture, coherent in the very incoherence that is apparent in all things living.

This brings us to the third part of our parenthesis. Everywhere along the way Febvre lets the reader look into the historian's workshop, teaches him his method, tells him, often half-humorously, about the tools he employs. The patrologist and the annalist of the *Kirchenkampf* will read these essays with as much profit as the professional Reformation historian. As for those seeking a parallel to Febvre's famous interpretation of Luther's "destiny" they will find it in the thumbnail sketch of Calvin: the Reformer's career is partly made up of fortuitous factors, but they fall into their place and become elements of explanation and interpretation if viewed side by side with the "situation" into which Calvin came. His activity filled a void, it corresponded to a need that existed in France and Geneva in his day. If our summary of Febvre's opening article on the French Reformation has done it justice, it will also have given an echo of this method of

historical interpretation that is so typical of our author, and that is by no means irrelevant to our main question concerning the Lutheran Reformation.

If in the West the voice of Wittenberg blended as one of many into harmony, or cacophony, of much larger dimensions, what is the explanation of Lutheran failure in the East? In the second volume of the *Dokumente der orthodoxen Kirchen zur ökumenischen Frage*, the office for external affairs of the Evangelical Church in Germany has given us a German translation of some of the most important documents on the contacts between the Tübingen theologians (1573-1581), and the Patriarchate of Constantinople. It contains not only many of the pertinent letters, available in Crusius' *Turcograecia*, but also Melancthon's Augsburg Confession in Greek, printed so far only in the very rare *Acta et Scripta*. The appendix gives Patristic sources and a few necessary Reformation texts. The bibliography is most useful. It lacks however *inter alia*: Pontien Polman, *L'argument historique dans la controverse religieuse du 16^e siècle* (Gembloux, 1932); J. Bakhuizen van den Brink, *Traditio in de Reformatie en het Katholicisme in de 16^e eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1952); J. Koopmans, *Het oudkerkelijk dogma in de reformatie...*, (Wageningen, 1938; German translation, Munich, 1955); and F. W. Kantzenbach, *Das Ringen um die Einheit der Kirche* (Stuttgart, 1957).

An excellent introduction by Dr. Hildegard Schaefer provides a good deal of scattered and otherwise almost inaccessible background information on East-West relations (e.g., on p. 15 John Zygomalas' fantastic scheme of converting Maximilian II to Orthodoxy). Together with the preface by Dr. Stratenwerth it sets forth our primary problem here, previously analyzed by Prof. Ernst Benz: Does the Greek version of the Augsburg Confession (Benz calls it a *variatio*)—or did the Reformers in general—really manage to speak Greek to the Greeks when they transposed their doctrinal statements from the legal Latin language of Western theology into the more Platonist "mystery" terminology of Byzantium? The question has been asked as an internal one: Were they justified in doing it, from their own theological point of view? But it also has an external aspect: Did they succeed in this enterprise as far as the outside world was concerned? The tragic failure of the Imperial and Danish general Jacob

Heraclides, Melancthon's protege who tried to introduce the Reformation into Moldavia (v. Benz, *Wittenberg und Byzanz*, part two) suggest that they did not, at least on the parochial level. The correspondence we have here shows the same in the more strictly theological field. Why?

One of the reasons given in Dr. Schaefer's introduction is the Protestants' insistence on the scriptural principle, the Greeks insisting all the time on the role played by the clergy, the councils and the Fathers of the church. Yet the fact remains, seen nowhere more clearly than in this correspondence, that the men of Tübingen also appealed to the teaching of the ancient church for support of their opinions. That they did so in a different spirit from the Greeks will surprise no one. But in what spirit did they do so? Again, the introduction (p. 21) gives us an excellent confrontation of the Protestant's *particula exclusiva* with the Orthodox' emphasis on all-inclusiveness. Yet the Lutherans in their way certainly also thought that they represented a total, inclusive body of Christian life and teaching, containing all things generally necessary to salvation (we need but think of the role played in the 16th century by the concept of *doctrina integra*).

The question thus remains: How did the Lutheran Reformers relate this affirmation of inclusiveness to the exclusive, analytical trait which modern research has perhaps over-emphasized but which was certainly very prominent in their teaching? And again we ask in more general terms: Was the Lutheran Reformation doomed to failure outside the limits of its original cultural world because of its particularism or exclusiveness? Was its failure the price paid for its loyalty to the biblical revelation that could not and cannot be expressed otherwise? Or was all this merely incidental, due to a passing "situation" which no longer exists, i.e. could it be otherwise for us today? All of these are questions for the dogmatician, but, as the editors of these documents have rightly seen, they can hardly be answered without the aid of the historian.

In this connection we would offer a criticism of the volume. It is always easy to criticize an anthology by quibbling about the choice of documents. But is not the omission of the correspondence on the *filioque* less innocent than Dr. Schaefer makes it sound (p. 27)? It would perhaps have shown the reader that the problem in Turkey was

no less complex than in France and is not correctly described merely by the modern-sounding formula *Wort und Mysterium*. In the name of Lucien Febvre we would also urge that the choice of texts would have been theologically more useful if it had been less exclusively theological. It cannot be without importance for these documents' *Sitz im Leben* that e.g. on November 15, 1575 John Zygomalas wrote to Crusius: "Be it known to thee that many of the Friars, who are subject to the Church of Old Rome and call themselves Papists, when they learned that you were sending us the aforementioned treatise of your party, which contains an account of your faith—alas! how they did rage and speak against you. But I opposed them (saying that it was done) for the sake of the abuses they uphold and of their monstrous innovations. Against these we agree with you for the most part, but from them we strongly differ" (*Turcograecia*, p. 428).

The present volume contains only translations. The introduction promises us a Greek text edition. Its publication will mark a *dies faustus* for Reformation history. Is it too much to hope that the text edition will also contain the contemporary Latin translations from the *Turcograecia* and *Acta et Scripta*, which may not be cribs for modern students, but are indispensable if we want to know how the texts were understood in the West in their own day?

PETER FRAENKEL

In Honor of Paul Althaus

DANK AN PAUL ALTHAUS. *Eine Festgabe zum 70. Geburtstag, dargebracht von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*. Edited by W. Künneth and W. Joest. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1958. 272 pp.

Prof. Paul Althaus of Erlangen is one of those German theologians who are known and respected far beyond the borders of their homeland. Among the many works which Althaus has written are some which have been translated into Swedish and English. This *Festschrift*, or anniversary volume, presented to Althaus on the occasion of his 70th birthday reflects in its 12 essays something of the wealth which Althaus, as exegete, systematician and Luther scholar,

has incorporated in his theology. Because the limitations of a book review do not allow for a detailed study of each essay, a selection must suffice.

We should like first of all to call attention to the essay by Kurt Frör, who offers a careful study of the theme "Law and Gospel in the Confessional" (pp. 25-46). Hans Grass, professor of systematics at Marburg, has an instructive survey of "The Eschatological Problem Today" (pp. 47-78), in which he points out the deficiencies not only in realized but also futurist eschatology. This essay should have particularly interested Althaus, who has himself written an internationally known standard work on the problems of eschatology (*Die letzten Dinge*, 1922, 7th ed., 1957). Grass defends a transcendent eschatology which finds its expression in the individual hope of eternal life, while rejecting the universal aspect of futurist eschatology. Here he differs from Althaus.

In his essay, "Toward an Understanding of the Problem of the Primal Revelation (*Ur-Offenbarung*)" (pp. 151-170), Wenzel Lohff discusses a very important theme taken from Althaus' prolegomena to his dogmatics (*Die Christliche Wahrheit*, 4th ed., 1958).

Three essays in the *Festschrift* deal with themes arising from Luther's theology and are of real significance for modern Luther research. The Erlangen systematician, Wilfried Joest, seeks to define the "Relationship of the Distinction between the Two Kingdoms to the Distinction between Law and Gospel" (pp. 48-79). Joest comes to the conclusion that these two distinctions, although they do not stand side by side without any connection to one another, nevertheless lie on very different planes. A very solid study, well grounded in the sources, is contributed by Ernst Kinder on the theme "Christ as High-priest in Luther and the Lutheran Confessions" (pp. 80-99).

The Erlangen church historian and Luther scholar, Walther von Loewenich, deals with a very pertinent question in his excellent essay "The Problem of the 'Catholic Luther'" (pp. 141-150). He rightly asserts that the Reformation did not arise out of an antithesis to Rome but out of the affirmation of the gospel. The pre-Reformation Luther had already substituted the Scriptures for the Magisterium of the church. The doctrine of justification, which provided the decisive breakthrough to the Reformation position, is found already in Luther's first lectures on the

Psalms (1513-1515), in other words long before the controversy with the papacy began. Luther is thoroughly aware, from 1516 on at the latest, that his Pauline theology is something new in comparison to traditional theology. The ecumenical creeds were expressly accepted by Luther, not as a second authority alongside Scripture, but simply as an interpretation of Scripture. Luther, as is well known, laid great value on being "catholic." It must, however, be recognized that for him the *ecclesia catholica* is only present where the teaching of Scripture is purely preached, and therefore *not* in the papacy which Luther accused of having fallen away from Scripture and the ancient church. Modern talk of a "catholic" Luther is rejected by von Loewenich because this expression is ambiguous and can lead to the misunderstanding of Luther as "catholic" either in the sense of medieval theology or even of modern Roman Catholicism. Neither is true, as von Loewenich convincingly proves. At the end of his essay, von Loewenich summarizes his insights in 12 theses which provide rich material for further discussion, inasmuch as they touch upon questions important not only for Luther research, but also for contemporary systematic theology. More important than all others is the problem whether the "scriptural principle"—which, incidentally, is certainly no invention of Luther's but was already familiar to late scholasticism—must not eventually lead to a relativization of dogmatic thought; for with the principle of "*sola scriptura*" the dogmatic tradition and its further development is made subject to exegetical progress" (p. 148).

For Luther, the center of Scripture is Christ, i.e., the saving work of Christ in the sense of the Pauline doctrine of justification. "The Question of the Center of Scripture" (pp. 121-140) as raised by the scriptural principle of the Reformation, is answered by the Erlangen systematician Walter Künneth, with reference to the fact of the resurrection of Christ. The uncertainty of modern interpretations of Scripture can be overcome by taking this central factor in Scripture as a starting point. To designate the center of Scripture is not a subjective and arbitrary act, but is a necessity demanded by the witness of Scripture itself (cf. 1 Cor. 3:11; 15: 14-20; Rom. 10:9 and 2 Cor. 4:5). Accordingly, the authority of Scripture is not an authority based on a legalistic biblicism, but is the authority inhering in the content of

this center of Scripture itself. K nneth rightly criticizes, as Althaus also does, the doctrine of verbal inspiration of traditional Protestant orthodoxy because it leads to an unrestrained identification of all the statements of Scripture with God's revelation, and thus makes any question about the center of Scripture impossible.

In conclusion, we call attention to the essay by Martin Schmidt, "Partaking of the Divine Nature," which discusses the interpretation of 2 Peter 1:4 in both pietism and Lutheran orthodoxy.

Of the many *Festschriften* which have appeared in the last few years, there are only a few which have distinguished themselves to the same degree as this one has through its many interesting and significant scholarly essays. One can therefore hope that the Althaus *Festschrift* will find as large a reading public as possible.

GOTTFRIED HORNIG

Younger Churches and African Sects

DIE SELBST NDIGKEIT DER JUNGEN KIRCHEN ALS MISSIONARISCHES PROBLEM (*Studia Missionalia Upsaliensia*, Vol. I). By Peter Beyerhaus. Wuppertal-Barmen: Verlag der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft, 1956.

BANTU PROPHETS IN SOUTH AFRICA. By Bengt G. M. Sundkler. London: Lutterworth Press, 1948.

EINGEBORENENKIRCHEN IN S D-UND S DWESTAFRIKA, IHRE GESCHICHTE UND SOZIALSTRUKTUR. By Katesa Schlosser. Kiel: Kommissionsverlag Walter G. M hlau, 1958.

MESSIANIC POPULAR MOVEMENTS IN THE LOWER CONGO (*Studia Ethnographica Upsaliensia XIV*). By Efraim Andersson. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1958.

Reports of the demands made by Africans for self-determination are coming thick and fast. Examining our own history and our own conscience, we think we understand these peoples, even when their striving for emancipation is accompanied by an attitude

of hostility toward Europeans. "The sins of the fathers . . ." we say, and think of the slave trade, exploitation, power politics. But the cause of the emerging attitude of hostility to white people should not be relegated simply to the economic and political realm. The many sects in Africa demonstrate that the area of mission work has also not remained intact, and that here too we must seek for mistakes and signs of negligence.

The man who is treated as a minor in the political and economic sphere, whose social system, once firmly set in tradition, threatens to disintegrate in the conflict with the alien culture which is forcing itself upon him, seeks new stability in the sphere of religious life. Converted to Christianity, he presses for independence in this, the sole area of activity and development left to him.

Consequently the problem is a complex one; it concerns the theory of mission work, but it is also important ethnologically, sociologically and politically. And so alongside the theologians, ethnologists and sociologists who busy themselves with the problem, the two latter mostly under its aspect of acculturation.

Bengt Sundkler, well-known professor in Uppsala, refers in his work on sects in South Africa to the significance which the longing of the younger churches for autonomy has for their splintering off from the mother church. Under Sundkler's stimulus and guidance a young German theologian, Dr. PETER BEYERHAUS, has made a historical and critical study of this problem. Where did the question arise in the course of missionary history? How has it been seen and dealt with? From this point of view Beyerhaus has examined Anglo-American, Dutch, Swedish and German missions literature and the archives of the parent societies in London and Barmen. The results are presented in this work, his doctrinal dissertation. It is a clearly constructed and clearly executed work which has as its aim: "to make a contribution to a new view which has emerged with clarity in postwar discussion."

"The question of the independence of the mission churches" is not a new one, Beyerhaus found. In the section dealing with the history of the problem Beyerhaus allows the missions theorists to speak in their own words. Each tries to find the solution on the basis of his own particular viewpoint. Henry Venn (1796-1873), secretary of the Church Missionary Society of the Church of England, strove for the early realization of the aims

of "self-support" and "self-extension," ideas which presuppose ultimately that the missionary will himself eventually become superfluous, i.e. a sort of euthanasia of missions. The American Congregationalist, Rufus Anderson (1796-1880), foreign secretary of the American Board, was a more radical reformer who gave even clearer expression to the concepts of self-support, self-government and self-propagation (known as the three S's). Anderson, who was animated by belief in progress, proposed "to make them English in their language, civilized in their habits and Christian in their religion." Roland Allen (1868-1947), on the other hand, wanted to revive in missionary work the spirit of St. Paul: "there is no gospel for social organizations but for man.... The Apostles came to build up Christ's church, not to christianize Greek and Roman society." J. Merle Davis (born 1875), viewing the matter from the sociological point of view, would like to see the economic and social basis of the church take a firm place in the work of missions, alongside evangelism, education and medical help.

Beyerhaus then draws attention to the idea of the folk church emanating from Germany, and to the antithesis between the conversion of nations and the conversion of the individual. There is Gustav Warneck (1834-1910), the pure theoretician, drawing on reports from Sumatra. There is Bruno Gutmann (born 1876), the missionary and ethnologist whose monographs on the Wachagga people have won worldwide acclaim in ethnological circles, who implores the Protestant mission not to attach itself to civilization and who demands that "the autochthonic social order be intensified through the Christian ideas of adoption, brotherhood, and the kingdom." Gutmann is himself attempting to realize this demand in his own mission field in the Kilimanjaro area. And finally there is Christian Kayser (born 1877), who is treading similar paths in New Guinea: "since God desires nations as well as national churches, the natural conditions in the countries concerned and the processes determining their destiny deserve to be given every consideration."

A quotation worth noting is one from Karl Graul, dating from 1847: "The ultimate aim of the Leipzig Lutheran mission is, in the course of time, to make the congregations which have been formed independent, by training indigenous teachers and by guiding

the congregations to management of their own affairs."

Beyerhaus finds that all these theorists have one thing in common: "They believe them [the new Christians] to be capable of taking care of their own church interests. It is the experience of all [the theorists] that a church's independence can be achieved only through the active participation of the indigenous members, something that cannot begin early enough." It is only the methods of work proposed by the various theorists which differ, and comparison with the findings of ethnologists suggests itself: the different theories proposed are influenced in each case by the different phenomena confronting the theorist.

In the second part, which he considers the more important part of his dissertation, Beyerhaus deals with the origin and development of three younger churches: the Anglican church on the Niger, the Protestant Christian Batak Church in Sumatra, and the Presbyterian church in Korea. The choice seems to have been influenced by the source material available, but on the other hand they are among the most significant younger churches today and have from the point of view of method the advantage that they have not only sprung from different mother churches but have also grown up in the soil of different cultures, which means that they confronted different types of pagan religion and differences in the structure of indigenous society. It seems that Beyerhaus attributes less significance to these last factors than does Sundkler's missionary-ethnological school, but his purpose is after all a theological treatment of the subject. "For the theologian of missions who thinks in natural-sociological categories"—the term seems to this reviewer to be somewhat unfortunate—"independence is the conclusion of the missionary process of education. For the spiritualists it is the final stage of the 'vitalistic' process by which the *ecclesia invisibilis* becomes visible." Beyerhaus regards both these interpretations as misunderstandings:

We cannot make a distinction between fellowship of belief and organized church, for the church is by its nature not a *communio* but a *ministerium*. Thus the church does not have the task of providing itself with a ministry; it is already, by its nature, a ministry, i.e., service of the threefold Word. Therefore the church's christonomy, established through justification, gives the ministry to the church from the beginning. The ministry is not the christening gift of the mission to the young church when it is

declared independent; it is the task laid upon the young church directly by Christ. As the church becomes independent, so its external features also grow: its ministry and its authority. In both its internal and external aspects the church is thus called, until the last day, to become independent.

This is a new and theological statement of the question of independence.

On the relation of the church to its environment in the controversy over the idea of the folk church, Beyerhaus says: "The present-day substitution of the new formula 'the church must be related to the soil' for the old formula 'the church must be rooted in the soil' is the outcome of reflection on the christological nature of the church." The creation of a social order cannot, he says, be the task of the church, it is a matter for the state.

Beyerhaus is himself now in the mission field, in the Transvaal, where the number of sects is constantly increasing, and we may well expect to receive from him further publications which will be influenced by his immediate contact with the problem. Although the core of his present work is concerned with theological reflection, it is also addressed to the ethnologist concerned with the phenomenon of acculturation. The copious bibliography is a real mine of information.

In *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* BENGT SUNDKLER has given us a comprehensive survey and analysis of the Zulu sects. The book appeared already in 1948 and has since established itself as a standard work for a certain area of research within the broad field of ethnology. The author deals with his subject from the point of view of modern study of religion, ethnology and sociology. The result is a comprehensive picture of the phenomenon of sects.

Sundkler rests his argument on empirical data culled from his own years of missionary work and on the observations of the Zulu assistants working under his direction. His method is worthy of note: all the notes, including his own, were made in Zulu, and thus certain sources of error were avoided or at least diminished, the kind of errors that inevitably result when one must rely on the statements of helpers with no scholarly training and speaking in a European language.

An impressive feature of the book is the twenty-page list containing the names of the individual sects. It reveals not only their abundance but also the tragedy of separatism.

For example, there are 62 names of churches, all beginning with "Apostolic," which are distinguished one from the other often only by one word, one preposition, such as "Apostolic Church of Zion in South Africa" and "Apostolic Church in Zion in South Africa." Sundkler names 800 sects—today there are supposed to be even more—which he finds descended from the Protestant missions. It cannot be denied that Protestant denominationalism is one of the roots of the sect phenomenon in South Africa. But so are the color bar, the land question, the political and economic impotence and uncertainty of the Africans, whose society is in the midst of crass cultural change.

Something which should give us pause is a phenomenon which Sundkler observed everywhere, namely that the worship of the sects is turning increasingly away from the preaching of the word toward ritual. Christian thought is taken over and poured into the molds of old traditions. New wine in old wine skins. Have the missions failed here? Have they failed to recognize the African's peculiar trait, his tendency toward symbiosis? Hence shouldn't the missions perhaps have tolerated a mild form of syncretism? As it is, syncretism was relegated to the sects where, according to Sundkler, it develops into the bridge by which the Africans are led back to paganism. Isolated from Christian doctrine, the sects, he says, are completely at the mercy of the old African heritage.

The continual fissiparation of the existing sects shows again that it is not the missions alone which are to blame. Sundkler refutes equally clearly those views which see the sects only as political movements. It is true that a certain type of sect does reveal nationalistic tendencies: the congregation patterns itself after the old Zulu society, imitating it in structure and ritual, and holds a prophet in higher esteem if he can demonstrate a direct connection with the royal clan. Yet these may just as well be nativist traits which express themselves here, on the site of what was strongest kingdom before the coming of the Europeans, in the form of nationalism. One must also keep in mind that sects can develop their own rituals in opposition to the traditional ones, and also new forms of prestige and of hierarchy.

It is a motley array which Sundkler presents and tries to draw together into a pattern. He divides them into "Ethiopian" and

"Zionist" sects, concepts behind which there may at first appear to be a philosophy or a program. But this is only apparent, for Sundkler demonstrates that "Ethiopian" originally had nothing in common with modern Abyssinia, but was taken from a biblical quotation, while "Zionist" is to be derived from Zion City, in the United States, from which Negro evangelists once went to South Africa. The same fate befell the work of these evangelists as befell that of the white missionaries: fissionation, as attested by the fact that the word "Zion" is the most frequent adjective found in the names of the sects. It would be a mistake to regard all the "Zion" sects as direct "offspring" of the mission from Zion City, however. Africans like to adopt names which please them and from which, simply through the fact of possession, there emanates a certain power.

Sundkler is now professor in Uppsala, and as far as I know no missionaries are now being sent out by the Church of Sweden without having first received a thorough training in ethnology in his school. He has also spent another year in South Africa, and we look with expectation to the publication of the results of this field work.

Another and more recent book on the sects in South Africa is that by KATESA SCHLOSSER. The author traveled for eight months in the vast region of South Africa and South West Africa. Her book is an account of the origin of six indigenous churches and of what she was able to learn of them in her short visits to each. Taking them geographically, the churches she discusses are the South-West African branch of the African Methodist Episcopal Church of America (one of the "Ethiopian" sects), a small congregation in Cape Province, Bhengus and Enoch Mgijimas sects in the eastern part of the Cape Province, the Lekganyanes sect in the Transvaal and, finally, the Shembes sect in Zululand, which Sundkler and Vilakazi have already dealt with thoroughly.

The first two of the six churches discussed are instances of recent breakaway movements from missionary societies, namely, the Rhenish mission in Southwest Africa and the Berlin mission in the Cape. From the detailed accounts of the course of the controversies it is evident that in both cases the issues were not doctrinal but political, sociological and socio-psychological: the striving for emancipation, the rejection of Euro-

peans, the development of indigenous personality, to mention but a few. This reviewer was unaware that the Hottentots were a ruling race and that farmers and missionaries in South-West Africa were detained by the Union government in "concentration camps" during the war.

The other churches dealt with belong, on Sundkler's definition, to the Zionist groups. They have a messianic character and their own forms of worship, and develop their own rituals and taboos. One misses here the ethno-sociological profundity of Sundkler's work. Syncretism can be understood only through a knowledge of both cultures involved.

Dr. Schlosser has carefully compiled a great deal of material, from interviews partly with the prophets themselves, partly with their followers, but predominantly with missionaries, farmers, and officials; if the daily and weekly newspapers are often cited as a source, it must be taken into account that in fact very little material does exist. All the more urgent therefore is the need for a series of intensive studies, not from the outside looking in but within the field itself, in the congregations where the African is struggling to find faith and where the groping for a new social structure is going on. This is admittedly a difficulty undertaking in South Africa, particularly in view of the present mistrust of ethnological research.

EFRAIM ANDERSSON's book is devoted to a special phenomenon: *Messianic Popular Movements in the Lower Congo*. Four and a half centuries ago, in 1490, the first Portuguese missionaries landed at the mouth of the Congo. There they came upon what was for Africa a remarkably unified political structure, the Kingdom of the Congo, with a ruler who was prepared to adopt the new teaching. After forty years of missionary activity Catholicism had become the state religion. It was possible to inform the pope that the Congo was now a Christian country.

Two hundred years later the last missionaries of this period of christianization fled, and another 150 years elapsed before a new large-scale attempt at conversion was undertaken, this time by Protestant missions following in the wake of colonial expansion. Those involved were (and are still today) British, American and Swedish societies of various denominations. But the Kingdom of the Congo no longer existed. The area it had formerly covered had been split up into three colonies: Portuguese Angola, French

Equatorial Africa (recently become the Republic of Congo) and the Belgian Congo; hence it was administered by different powers and subject to different colonial policies. The only visible survivals of the 200 years of the first period of christianization are a few externals, such as the sign of the cross on fetishes (*nkisi*) which we marvel at today in our museums.

That is what the sources reveal of the christianization of the Congo, and it seems to be an argument against the conception of the "conversion of nations." And so the Protestants set out "to win souls for the Lamb"—individual conversions—in place of seeking to transform the inhabitants into nominal Christians. An unfortunate result ascribed to their work today is the emergence of the messianic movements which have been disturbing the Lower Congo for decades now. Andersson characterizes the movements and offers an analysis of them.

Like his fellow countryman Sundkler, Andersson is also a missionary and ethnologist, with perhaps the accent on ethnologist, for he is well known as such in scholarly circles. His works have appeared in the series *Studia Ethnographica Upsaliensia*. His long experience among the people of the Congo, his knowledge of their history, culture and above all their language (which keeps him from faulty analyses and discloses such errors in earlier works) have all contributed to a convincing treatment of the phenomenon he deals with. Nowhere does it appear to be hindered by the author's connection with mission work or influenced by dogmatic considerations. Andersson's knowledge of the modern study of religion, and of sociology and social psychology give depth to his work, and his "ideology," if one may say so, is the very opposite of ethnocentric. That, in this reviewer's opinion, makes his work especially valuable.

Andersson treats Simon Kimbangu's movement and the Ngunzism which developed out of it, first during the period 1921-1924 when the government intervened with bans, penalties and deportations, and then during the thirties when it flared up again. He also deals with the newer movements, including Amicale Balali of Matswa Andre, an *évolué* from French Equatorial Africa, the various branches of the "Khaki Movement" and finally the most recent manifestation of Numkukusa.

Andersson's appreciation of semantic problems leads him to retain in one instance after

another the terms taken from the indigenous language. The European concepts of prophet, priest, magician, priest-magician and so forth do not correspond exactly to the African ones, which derive from another world of ideas; they merely confuse the picture and lead to false conclusions. This makes the reading of the book difficult at times, but in the end makes it easier to understand and makes for clarity of method.

A *ngunza* is "one who speaks on behalf of a chief, a herald, a preacher, or a prophet." Ngunzism began with Simon Kimbangu's visions in the spring of 1921 and with his healing of a child. Kimbangu's reputation as a healer spread quickly throughout the country. Now they, the despised black people, had their own prophet. They flocked to him, and at the end of a few months his followers were estimated at 10,000. But the movement had thus become a political factor, and the government stepped in. The occasion for the intervention was provided by the political tendencies manifesting themselves in a group in Kinshasa-Leopoldville, where people were being urged to stop paying taxes, and by reports that many of the people seeking healing from Kimbangu were dying on the way to him.

But according to Andersson, at the beginning of the movement no evidence can be found for political or anti-white tendencies, either propagated or supported by Kimbangu. He is said always to have emphasized the religious aspect of the movement and its connection with Christianity and the whites; he is also said never to have been without a Bible and to have preached from Scripture. On this score the report of a Swedish missionary is available.

"It was a revival by means of which many thousand heathens came to believe in God, and through its agency God revealed much that proved a blessing to them and to the Christian community."

True, says Andersson, things did not everywhere follow such a harmonious and peaceful course, certainly not after the unsuccessful attempt to arrest Kimbangu, a step which inflamed his followers and through its failure diminished the prestige of the government. Later Kimbangu gave himself up. The sentence passed on him was unexpectedly harsh. He was condemned to death but later reprieved and deported to the east, where he died in 1950. The movement was banned, but it lived on in the bush. More

arrests, more condemnations, more deportations followed. Toward the end of 1924, not least because of a lack of leaders, everything seemed to have quieted down, only to flare up anew in the thirties.

Once again *ngunzism* began at first as a religious revival, but very soon manifested anti-white, anti-foreigner and revolutionary features. Legends were already being woven around Kimbangu. The cult had gone "underground" or had taken on two modes of expression, as in Kingoyi: the one public, with singing and prayer in the village church (i.e. the mission church) under the protecting wing of the African evangelists, and the other at night in the forest, secret, reserved for the inner circle and led by a *ngunza*. An authentic account of this also exists. The mission gave warning that it was getting into a difficult situation. On the one side the government was demanding from it reports and the names of those participating, and on the other side it was thereby losing the confidence of the Africans. Once again the government intervened with a heavy hand. On one day 52 people from one district were sent to remote areas of the colony. One morning in the autumn of 1937 this reviewer saw from his hotel room in a town in the north of the colony a group of convicts chained to one another cutting the grass in the park, and was told that they were convicted members of a secret sect.

While all this was taking place in the Belgian Congo, the French territory on the other side of the Congo did not remain untouched. There, however, in consequence of the different administration, the palpable pressure of colonial power seemed to be missing, a pressure which certainly contributed to the fact that the movements were propelled from their religious bases towards nationalism. One must always keep in mind that the African does not make the distinction we Europeans commonly make between the religious and the secular spheres. For him religious, social and political life are all closely interwoven.

Matswa André, a Congolese, had founded a welfare organization in Paris for Africans who "through no fault of their own" got into difficulties in Europe. As late as 1926 the usefulness of this organization was acknowledged by the government in Brazzaville and it was provided an annual grant. In the course of the next few years money was collected assiduously even in the smallest

villages of the colony, where according to the sources the philanthropic aims concerned were reinterpreted in political and pan-African terms. That robbed the "*Amicale Balali*," as the organization had become known, of its innocuous character, and the government stepped in. Then when in 1930 André and his assistants were tried in Brazzaville for embezzlement and were condemned to prison and deportation, the Africans questioned the justice of the charge. It came to an open revolt in front of the court-house, and the police and militia had to step in. But the legend had been created—the legend of Matswa André, hero and martyr, who wanted to free his country from the whites and for this reason was sent into exile. The welfare organization was transformed into a cult. Andersson includes in the illustrations to his book a card with André's picture on it sold as an amulet among the Congolese. The date is significant: 1930, the year when *ngunzism* gained new impetus on both sides of the Congo.

All these movements whose history Andersson traces and whose characteristics he depicts would have been impossible but for the readiness of the Africans to believe in a messianic mission and in anything which frees them from constant fear of *kindoki*. We cannot go into the conception of *ndoki* here. Andersson treats it in detail, and we shall have to content ourselves with pointing out that *ndoki* brings all ill upon men, that anyone may be attacked by it, whether he is passive or active, that when sickness, death or accident befalls a community, anyone in the community is under suspicion of harboring *ndoki*. Hence the Africans' urge for purification, the desire to participate in anything which will purify them in the sight of the group. The last movement treated in this work, the Munkukusa movement, illustrates this phenomenon.

In the Masangi district a child died, and the mother believing that her husband had killed the child through *kindoki*, returned to her own family. But her husband loved her, and considered how he could win her back. The answer he found in African rational thought. Kneading *nteke*, a dough made of human and animal excrement mixed with soil from the graves of his ancestors, he went to his wife's village, accused himself of *kindoki* and his wife of being an accomplice. This made it impossible for her to remain among her own family, and in spite of her

protests she had to confess to her share of the guilt. They both then went through the rite of purification, which involved spreading *nteke* on the mouth, were thus freed from *banduki* and began in harmony a new life.

The tale of this strange *kukusa* ritual spread like a bush fire through the country, across the river and far into French territory. A new cult had been born. Present-day reports describe the *kukusa* ceremonies as follows. The participants, led by the paramount chief of the clan, step one after another into the sacred circle leaping over the Bible as they go, smear their mouths and faces with *nteke*, trace with their lips the sign of the cross in earth disinterred from graves, drive nails in wooden crosses and swear to renounce *kinduki*.

Munkukusa is not a messianic sect, but it is a characteristic example of how Christian rituals are adopted and fused with the old beliefs. And to this no mission is immune.

In the last chapters the author deals with his subject as an ethnographical and sociological problem. The more deeply one probes into the ethnological and sociological factors, the more untenable proves to be the view that the Protestant missions are largely responsible for the rise of the sects or even for their anti-white tendencies, an assumption which seems to show itself even in government circles and which renders more difficult the work of the missions. The roots of the sects are to be found just as much in the autochthonic religion and in the convulsions of the old social structure brought about by cultural contact, especially in the encounter of two cultures of differing complexity. Andersson also rejects the theory that all or nearly all institutions of so-called "primitive" peoples are anonymous in character and arose out of primitive collectivism without personal initiative. Nguzism and its daughter movements are all ultimately to be traced back to the initiative of individual leaders. One cannot dismiss prophets like Simon Kimbangu as charlatans. They are convinced of their mission.

¶ Messianic movements, wherever they emerge, are related to poverty and deprivation. In 1921 and in 1930 the Congo was involved in economic crises. In the case of South Africa Sundkler describes the movements as phenomena resulting from the question of land, land which is withheld from the Africans because the white people lay claim

to it for settling. This question in the parallel situation of the Kikuyu contributed to the rise of Mau Mau. Out of privation grows the hope for heroes who will lead the suffering people toward a golden age. But the myth of a cultural hero, a bringer of salvation or a messiah is also needed, and Andersson shows that this belief too is native to Africa, in the south, in Tanganyika, in Angola. In the case of the Congo it can be neither proved nor disproved. But where the messianic myth is missing, it can, he says, be borrowed, as for example from the Old Testament or from Revelation. Here the relation to Protestantism comes to the fore.

The Protestant missions are often reproached with providing from their ranks the leaders of Nguzism. Andersson's work shows that this assertion too is no longer tenable, since it can be demonstrated that there are some prophets who were brought up in Roman Catholic missions, and others who come directly from the old African religion. True, he says, one cannot avoid reproaching the Christian missions, particularly the Protestant ones, with having bound themselves too closely to white civilization and with having adapted themselves too little to the milieu—unlike Islam, which the African today regards as a wholly African religion. The church, says Andersson, has to pay dearly today for this failure.

WILLI J. KNOOB

The Layman's Theological Library

BELIEVING IN GOD. By Daniel Jenkins. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1956. 94 pp., \$1.00.

PRAYER AND PERSONAL RELIGION. By John B. Coburn. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1957. 96 pp., \$1.00.

The books in The Layman's Theological Library, of which these are but two, serve a useful purpose in presenting to the layman the themes of the Christian faith in non-technical English. Recent years have witnessed a reawakening of the layman and lay activity, and the urgent necessity of understanding the

content of witnessing and preaching—tasks shared by both lay and clergy—is a point which hardly needs to be labored.

DANIEL JENKINS' attempt at an analysis of Christian faith is admirable. In the words of Robert McAfee Brown, writer of the foreword and general editor of the series, the book is "designed for the person who has questions and is willing to face them... and who is honest enough to realize that although not all questions will disappear simply by reading ninety pages, the remaining questions can be set within a context of meaning which, while not destroying mystery, invests the very mystery itself with new meaning" (p. 8). In the first two chapters the author raises the question of the very foundation of the Christian faith and points out the inadequacies of the traditional proofs of the existence of God. To understand the nature of faith, says Jenkins, one has to grant that God and life are encompassed with mystery. It is interesting to note the author's estimate of fundamentalism and liberalism as religious ways of denying the mystery of God and life. In an age of scientific positivism, when solutions to problems are attempted by the use of scientific methods, the question is posed whether one can dispense with the "personal dimension." The author humorously hints at the relation between science and faith when he remarks that even the scientist "will be as eager as the next man to know whether the girl he loves is prepared to marry him" (p. 19). The Christian objections to the traditional proofs are then enumerated—all objections centering round the claim that no rational justification can be given for an act of faith, nor can the questions of faith be resolved on one level of experience alone.

Chapter three gives a glimpse into the biblical characterizations of faith and raises central issues such as the meaning of revelation in terms of God's historic activity, the place and meaning of temptations, the relevance of a belief in the resurrection, the significance of the Trinity. One would wish that each of these vital themes had been given fuller treatment, as it is just on these issues that the layman finds it hard to substantiate his faith adequately.

Chapter four deals with the question, "Is the Christian God an Illusion?" The question is arresting, but the chapter seems to me to be lacking in persuasiveness. Chapter five, which takes up the always discussed prob-

lem of evil, makes for more interesting reading. The author insists that this perplexing question needs to be solved not on the "level of thought" but on the "practical level in the experience of multitudes who suffer and yet rejoice in their Savior's praise, counting it a privilege to share with him a little of the burden he bore in seeking to bring back a world estranged from the source of its health and peace" (p. 70). The most significant contribution of the author to the problem of evil lies in his biblical treatment of it. He shows that the question of evil and suffering in this world cannot be adequately understood or even interpreted apart from the impact of the "last things" on the Christian faith. Mystery and eschatology belong together just as much as do faith and hope.

The last chapter touches briefly on the relation of the Christian faith to the world, especially the non-Christian religions. Nothing strikingly new is said in this connection, although the author does try in one way or another to speak for the uniqueness of the Christian faith because of the uniqueness of Christ.

While it must be granted that the book in general will certainly appeal to readers because of its simplicity and clarity of presentation, it must also be pointed out that for a deeper understanding of the center of faith one must supplement this book with others on a similar topic and in that way fill the lacunae.

JOHN B. COBURN's book on prayer is a very welcome addition to the already existing literature on prayer and personal religion. Perhaps the most significant contribution of this particular book lies in its earnest appeal that prayer not be approached in the spirit of a foreigner but in the spirit of a native of the spiritual soil (p. 8). It must be said at the outset that the book should be regarded as something of a compendium touching on a few but important aspects of prayer. It should also be read and appropriated on the practical level. Read in this way it can be a source of great benefits, as it places a great challenge on the hearts of readers.

Chapter one very aptly points out that the first step in prayer is taken by God. Only when the initiative is God's does prayer become meaningful as a response to a personal relation with a loving God. At a time when local and world revival movements often

appeal to prayer as a work of man making bold demands on God, it is perhaps necessary to hear this sober reminder that prayer is not man's work but essentially a relationship initiated by God.

Chapters two and three take up two practical considerations, one with regard to the man who prays and the other with regard to the mode of prayer. On the former, it is necessary to remember that false pretensions on man's part will not get him any further with God; therefore the author's useful injunctions: be yourself before God, begin where you are. As for the latter, the author makes the significant remark, "Morning is the time for *work* in prayer, evening for *rest* in prayer" (italics ours).

Chapters four and five describe prayer as a structure comparable to a building, requiring foundation stones and a superstructure. The foundation stones are five in number: adoration, thanksgiving, confession, intercession, petition. The heart of adoration is to let God be God, while thanksgiving is to turn away from oneself toward God. Confession becomes effective only when the ego is sacrificed in utter self-surrender. In this connection the author finds private confession a help to some; at any rate it forces one to be more specific and concrete about sins. When praying for others, the center of reference should always be God's will, and only such intercessory prayers that are in conformity with God's will can be of help to others. The same test applies to petitions, whether for oneself or for others.

The next two chapters deal with the need of progress in prayer and the meaning of prayer for worship. The last chapter sets prayer in the realistic context of evil and suffering.

Although the book in general has many useful hints that would greatly aid the layman in his personal religious life, there are several aspects of the subject that remain untouched. For the reviewer one of the chief is the relation between prayer and faith on the one hand and the conflict between prayer and temptation on the other. These are equally of practical relevance if one is to find the deep springs of life in God's initiative and man's appropriation.

JACOB KUMARESAN

LIFE, DEATH AND DESTINY. By Roger L. Shinn. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1957. 95 pp., \$1.00.

THE CHRISTIAN MAN. By William Hamilton. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1956. 93 pp., \$1.00.

ROGER L. SHINN of Vanderbilt University Divinity School in Nashville, Tennessee, and William Hamilton of Colgate Rochester Divinity School have each contributed a volume on man to The Layman's Theological Library. Both writers find that the riddle of man cannot be solved without God, and that neither God nor man can be really known without Christ. Though professors of theology, both writers employ a simple, everyday speech which can be understood without any theological training.

"The boner was putting history in God's place"—"Most of us know that we are pretty small potatoes in the face of the problems of our own time, to say nothing of all history"—"The Epicurean—remember him?—believes that history is going no place"—"God does not ask us to run the universe. He will do that. He asks us to serve him"—sentences such as these from Professor Shinn's book suit well in both style and content with the information on the dust jacket that the author was decorated with the Silver Star for gallantry in the Battle of the Bulge.

Yet, though speaking non-theological language, he gives in his little book deeply theological answers to the vital questions of life, death and destiny—every man's problems. Having found a clue to the mystery of human history, he goes on to describe the testimony of the Christian, who has found the meaning of life and history in "the career of Jesus Christ" which reveals the reality of God, the Eternal, who works in history and beyond history and whose decisive activity is in Christ. It is impossible for the person who has never experienced God's activity through Christ in his own life to detect His activity in history, not even in holy history. God's activity is hidden and is not accessible to immediate observation. "Imagine a news photographer at Golgotha. He would get his motion pictures and his sound track of the crowd and the lonely man dying on the cross. *He would not get a picture of God or evidence that God had done anything there.* Perhaps, compared with a Cinemascope extravaganza, his film would be unimpressive and disappointing. For the glory and the meaning of the event are not on the surface."

"Imagine, then, a camera set to grind away automatically at the last chapter of

human history. Whether focused on the last human activities or peering into the cosmos for signs of God, it might miss everything important. God's reign is not photographable. Most descriptions miss the point" (p. 76).

The thought of the Christian works from inside out, maintains Shinn. Therefore he is able to find the hand of God in history, his own as well as that of the world.

This does not mean that a Christian is provided with a code according to which he is able to say why this or that happened to a person or to a nation; nor does he have a map with the help of which he can foretell what will happen, or ought to happen. With commendable realism the author points out how intricate all questions about guilt and merit are. "The great battle goes on *inside every nation and inside every person*. God judges and condemns evil in *us* as well as that in our enemies" (p. 48). Also our questions about death and resurrection, the last judgment, heaven and hell, we do better to let rest in the hands of God than to attempt weird speculations. "It's not what you know, it's who you know." "His hidden activity can bless and redeem any loyal response to him" (p. 95).

WILLIAM HAMILTON starts by stating that he is discarding the title "The Christian Doctrine of Man" as dangerous, because "it is not true that our faith provides us with some kind of secret information about the true nature of other people"; but "as Christians we are given a new kind of *self-understanding*" (p. 9). The clue to this self-understanding we find only in the Bible, particularly in the New Testament, because the distinctive mark of the Christian man "is a unique relationship to Jesus Christ, the Lord" (p. 10). So we must go to our study of the Christian man by asking the question, "What does this unique Christian relationship tell us about ourselves?"

In simple, clear language the author answers the question, "What does happen to us when we come up against Jesus Christ?" We experience a unique *demand* on us, the demand of Christ's life and teaching. "We have here something far different from a series of simple techniques for Christian living. There is rather an undistorted mirror by which we may see our distortion" (p. 17)—may see how far we have fallen from the way and status which God purposed for

us in creating us. Only in the light of Christ is it possible for us to see clearly that we are sinners.

Thus the gospel of Christ seems to be not "good news" but bad news (p. 17). Yet here is the paradox: the same life of Christ which unmasks us as sinners offers us divine forgiveness. It is not a forgiveness that just "forgets"—which would be a false forgiveness. The divine forgiveness offered through Christ is a costly thing for God. "In the life and death of Jesus Christ God himself was acting for us" (p. 22). Here is the center of the Christian faith. It is the centrality of the gospel of forgiveness that makes us Protestants. Distrust any part of theology, Martin Luther used to say, that cannot be reduced to forgiveness. "Protestantism was born when God forgave Martin Luther" (p. 23).

A Christian is a forgiven sinner. He is forgiven, and is being forgiven. "We are asked to be perfect, and as soon as this demand comes we know we are not and never will be so" (p. 35). Therefore a Christian character cannot easily be set down in a list of rules and precepts. It is really a combination of opposites: confidence and humility. "When he has forgiven us we can never again be as sure of the evil of our enemies (or of our own virtue) as we once were" (p. 29). But "the Christian man has a new perspective on the decisions he has to make; he has a new freedom which is his most distinguishing mark; and he is able to call upon the life and teaching of Jesus Christ as his norm or pattern" (p. 24). He is free *from* himself and free *for* service to God and his neighbor. Yet "this Christian character cannot be had by aiming directly at it. It can be grown in us, but only in an atmosphere of faith and trust in God, and only when we are not aware of what is going on" (p. 33).

In part two the author shifts the argument, testing it on one particular aspect of human life, namely, sexuality. This is not the usual approach to the understanding of spiritual life, but the author attempts, successfully, to show that many of the same basic insights into the Christian life which he gave an account of in part one emerge out of his analysis of our sexual life.

His argument is throughout based mainly on the New Testament, but in an appendix he gives a useful exposition of the story of the Fall in Genesis 3.

These two small books have much to give both to lay and clergy.

SIGFRID ESTBORN

MODERN RIVALS TO CHRISTIAN FAITH. By Cornelius Loew. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1956. 95 pp., \$1.00.

This book contains good theology, something which a superficial glance at the title may not suggest. The title might even lead one to believe that the author is going to discuss modern forms of non-Christian religions as rivals to the Christian faith. But this is not what he does. He sets out to analyze and establish the following: where a man's heart is, there is his loyalty; and where his loyalty is, there is his god.

Now man has set his heart on science, on democracy, on his nation, or on his religion, his Bible or his denomination. His loyalty is to them, but they really constitute his extended self-centeredness—and they are his gods!

The practical question, then, is whether we worship the one *true* God with all our heart and soul and mind and strength, or whether we put in God's place some interest or concern or movement or program that is less than God. The Bible calls any such substitute an *idol* and any such religion *idolatry*. (p. 14)

To take another example: "We are not merely tempted to idolize democracy. We are tempted to make God himself into an idol by fitting him in with our way of life" (p. 39).

And another:

The Reformers attacked this elaborate system because they believed that it made man—man's need and man's efforts to qualify himself for having his need met—the center of Christian faith. They charged that any religion which promises a person that he will get out of his faith what he puts into it is essentially an appeal to self-centeredness. *And self-centeredness is the root of all idolatry.* (p. 64)

Idols have been worshiped since Adam and Eve, but today they are most dominant in the forms mentioned by the author. Not only Christians but religious people the world over worship these different idols of self-centeredness. But self-idolization leads to self-destruction. Therefore the author's study and exposition of these idols is a real help to the general public, as well as to the students of science and religion.

While this is the general contribution of the book, it particularly brings to light the "secret gods" whom the Christians worship beside the God and Father of Jesus Christ and sets forth in unequivocal and non-technical terms the biblical tradition of the Christian faith. Again some examples:

And the Bible as a whole can "make sense" to us only if we realize that you and I are Adam and Eve. We are causing the same crisis in our generation which the people in the book of Genesis caused in their several generations. And the peculiar character of the difficulty is the same also. We say to ourselves: "I will play the part of God in my life, I will be the center of my world." We put something less than God in the place of God and separate ourselves from fellowship with the source and meaning of our life. (p. 83)

"This idolatrous situation is what the Bible calls sin" (p. 84).

When Christians told non-Christians about their faith they emphasized three themes:

(1) Jesus was the Christ, the holy one of God promised in Hebrew prophecy and prepared for in the religious history of mankind.

(2) The life, death, resurrection and exaltation of Jesus were all one great act of God for the sake of delivering man from sin.

(3) All men are summoned to turn from their self-centered ways, to accept the forgiveness and reconciliation with God made possible in Christ, and to give themselves to a new life whose chief characteristic will be the presence of Christ within them (as God's Holy Spirit) as a power for righteousness. (pp. 86-87)

The author carries the reader on with conversation, dialogue and argumentation that is subtle but cogent. The style flows as easily as the argument, and the book is a real addition to The Layman's Theological Library.

The reviewer wishes to make two or three observations. According to the author's analysis everyone, Christian or non-Christian, is an idolator. The author has made his case. But why everyone is infected with this *sin* of idolatry, and how, is not hinted at, even as an enigma, for it cannot be an object of research. Again, the author is clear that "self-centeredness is the root of all idolatry." Can this be basically eliminated in the context of human existence? Further, the title is somewhat misleading. The idols that the author discusses are really substitutes for Gods that people worship. And this is happening not only in the Christian church but in the religious world in general. "Whom do we *actually* worship?"

P. DAVID

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CHURCH. By Robert McAfee Brown. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1956. 96 pp., \$1.00.

When the general editor of The Layman's Theological Library sets himself the task of writing a book for the series, it is only to be expected that he will know how to fulfill his purpose. This is evident already in the title of the book, which does not mention in so many words the "conception" or the "idea" of the church, but speaks plainly of the significance of the church.

Although it may be true that there is no end to the number of books written about the church, this small book is sure to fill a need. The author rightly points out in his foreword that much of what has been written for the layman is only an insult to his intelligence, and other books although intended for general reading are in spite of that so technical in their theological vocabulary and whole approach that they can only be appreciated by the professional theologians. The intelligence of the lay reader must not be underestimated, but at the same time it is necessary to start out from the deceptively simple questions people ask: whether the "church" is after all more than the church buildings, or at the most the divine services conducted in them, or possibly the ministers who are keeping the whole show going.

The author begins with the layman where he stands, which is not in a single particular corner but in a variety of often contradictory attitudes, and lets each one from his own position take "a long hard look at the Church." He then leads his readers on to discover that many of their misgivings have not just now been pointed out by them but are keenly and painfully felt also by the "insider," who loves his church and wants to stand by it in spite of its shortcomings.

The author goes on to show that much scorn for the church is actually a denial of one of the most elementary needs of human beings, namely, the desire for fellowship or belonging together. Now the church is not just there to satisfy in a general way the modern man's feeling of loneliness. It is a community in a very special sense, not just a "good idea" on the part of people who like to get together occasionally. Already here some of the characteristics of the church are pointed out, that it is a community created by God, that its life is given by the

Spirit, that it is a creative fellowship, that it is the place where men have made the most fundamental discoveries of their lives.

In the second chapter Brown turns to the question of the meaning of the Reformation, which made the greatest cleft in the fellowship of the church. He explains why the Reformation became necessary in order to recover the gospel and how the resulting split might not have been so disastrous had the reformation not been so long overdue. But not only in the Middle Ages but in any age, and therefore also today, the church stands in need of the continued reformation which the author deals with in the last chapter. Taking seven short phrases ("justification by faith," "the priesthood of all believers," etc.) as headings he explains the main ideas of the Reformation, prefacing the explanations with the remark that this will mean for the layman an exercise in theological vocabulary. One might wish that for the word "doctrine" in the two last headings plainer words to the same effect had been substituted, but otherwise the headings give in brief an excellent summary of the work of the Reformation.

Chapter three deals with the biblical understanding of the church. The author points out that the New Testament message, supported by the Old Testament, is nothing less than the breaking forth of the "new era" in which God will make all things new. The church is therefore "the new Israel," "the chosen people," "the new covenant," in fact the people of God. The church is the response to the "good news," it gets its power from the resurrection and its guidance and inspiration from the Holy Spirit—and however strange these descriptions may sound, the layman who takes his inquiry seriously must try to enter this new world of wonderful events, something which may involve acquiring a new vocabulary in the process.

Brown then returns to the question of the justification of the many church denominations. He points out on the one side that as no two human beings are exact replicas of one another, so one cannot expect that to be the case when we come down to the local churches. It does belong to God's greatness that he can call such a variety of denominations to his fellowship. But it is also true that human narrowness could make even Paul the apostle ask in horror, "Is Christ divided?" Leaving such suicidal seclusiveness to one side, the author goes on to de-

scribe the church in its daily aspect as the "bride of Christ" and as a sacramental community and the communion of saints.

The painful division between Roman Catholics and Protestants is the subject of chapter five. The author makes a sincere attempt to engage Roman Catholics in conversation and points out to his fellow Protestants that the greatest harm they can do is to take an adamant or even scornful attitude toward Christians whom we are just beginning to attempt to understand.

The next chapter is entitled "The Shared Life of the People of God." God is the center of their worship, and not they themselves. But they must look to their Christian heritage, they must praise him in singing. The word of God must have a central place in their life, and they must come to understand the significance of the sacraments. The two sacraments are dealt with at length, but clearly and simply, and the author need not apologize for giving us a long, hard chapter.

The church also has a conquering task, however, which it carries out in its prophetic message to the world. Although the old era is doomed to pass away, the people of the new era cannot live a secluded life in this world. They must bring the mighty message to the world where they have been placed and demonstrate the signs of the kingdom. This charge is given along with the caution that the people of God must learn to distinguish between the voice of God and their own desires.

Here the author treats the question of the relationship between the minister and the layman. This is such an important question, one which most laymen would raise, that it would have been good had a "long, hard" chapter been devoted to it alone. In a couple of pages the author does state the main answers, however. But too little space is given to the question of apostolic succession to do justice to this subject.

It is fitting that the book should close with a chapter stating the Reformation must continue. If that does not happen, the church will be moribund; one is therefore anxiously on the lookout for signs of reformation. Brown finds these in a theological revival, the ecumenical movement, the voices of the so-called younger churches and in the revival movements within particular churches. Last but not least, mention is made of the new emergence of the layman in the work of the church, which the author sees as a

true fulfillment of the prophecy of Joel and the sermon of Peter on the day of Pentecost. And one will certainly wish that also this little book, with its fine approach and unconventional presentation, will serve to strengthen this consciousness of the priesthood of all believers.

DANIEL BITSCH

New Testament Faith for Today

OSTERGESCHEHEN UND OSTERBERICHTE. By Hans Grass. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956. 301 pp., DM 22.80.

This is the work of a systematic theologian who, out of a concern for preaching today, turns historian and carefully examines the accounts of the resurrection (*Osterberichte*) in order to establish with as much degree of probability as possible, what actually happened, and then as a systematician asks what the Easter event in its true significance (*Ostergeschehen*) is. Since he concludes with a few sketches of sermons on Easter texts, he demonstrates how inseparable the work of the biblical, historical, systematic and practical theologians is, all four of them being here combined in one person.

Grass's very detailed examination of the Easter stories as reported in the four Gospels reveals any number of irresolvable contradictions, and he therefore comes to very radical conclusions as to the definitely legendary accretions, the stages in the development of which he is careful to trace, in the canonical accounts, until they become much more crass in the apocryphal accounts (e.g., the Gospel of Peter and of Hebrews). This leaves him with the following historical kernel: the probability that the first appearances took place in Galilee at some remove from Easter, that the whole circle of the disciples saw the risen Lord, with Peter as the first. As the result of these appearances there arose the Easter faith, "The Lord is risen indeed." This encounter with the risen Lord was understood as a command to carry on his work. Nothing further may be said concerning the nature of these appearances; nothing can be

concluded concerning an empty tomb. The largely legendary character of the accounts would make even these data questionable if it were not for the witness of St. Paul, which is early enough to corroborate the basic data. Hence Grass concludes as to the order of likely actual, historical appearances: the Lord appears to Peter and soon after to the twelve in Galilee, whither they had fled after Good Friday. As a result they return to Jerusalem to proclaim the risen Lord. In the growing congregation the Lord appears again to a group of 500. The appearance to James may have been either in Galilee at the occasion of his conversion or in Jerusalem some time after. The appearance before all the apostles is in Jerusalem some time later. The appearance to Paul himself is on a par with the others. Grass also concludes that Paul's views of the nature of the resurrection body (1 Cor. 15) do not require the assertion of the empty tomb, while nevertheless he affirms a resurrection of the body rather than the immortality of the soul. The resurrection of Christ is, therefore, parallel to the resurrection of all men, a glorified body taking the place of the mortal, chemical particles laid into the grave with personal identity preserved. Belief in the empty tomb is not an *articulus stantis et cadentis ecclesiae*.

As for the nature of the resurrection appearances Grass concludes that they were not actual physical appearances of the same flesh-and-blood Jesus who had been laid into the grave and on the third day resuscitated, but they were objective visions, not subjective hallucinations. They were, therefore, inner experiences not shareable by any and all bystanders. This does not mean, however, that the risen Lord was not actually present. All attempts to explain the visions subjectively not only do not do justice to the records but are theologically impermissible. There was a definite, objective Easter event which transformed the disciples and without this there is no Christianity. This event is not just the transformation of the disciples themselves but it is the simple fact that God did not leave Christ in death, but raised him from the dead and to himself in glory and that this risen Lord appeared to his disciples so that they were certain: He lives. "More than this cannot be said and even this only faith can say and confess, while the historian as historian is not able completely to overcome the ambiguity of the visionary experiences of the disciples" (p. 246).

As for the question of how we come to the Easter faith today and the place which the testimony of the eyewitnesses plays in this the sequence is quite clear. A person becomes a believer only through a consciousness of sin and the recognition that he is freed from his predicament in sin only through the present, living, acting Lord. The believer, therefore, first of all experiences the living Lord. Then he does not just postulate the resurrection in order to account for this living presence. His faith in the living Lord was occasioned in him only by a witness that rests upon the eyewitness report of those to whom the Lord had actually appeared. So the historicity of the resurrection, held in faith, together with the theological interpretation of this event, is an indispensable, crucial element in the Christian's confession, but faith, strictly speaking, is not faith in the historical event, but in the risen, living Lord, who is present as the victor over death only because he actually was raised from the dead.

This is a clear repudiation of what is believed by some to be Bultmann's view, according to which it is the inner transformation of the believer that constitutes the decisive action of God in freeing him from his past and from bondage to the world to true eschatological existence. There is an objective event of Jesus' own resurrection and there are objective appearances which are witnessed to in faith and without which there would be no Christian church.

Whether or not one can follow Grass in his radical treatment of the historical material depends upon an equally honest, exacting dealing with the materials themselves. The evidence mustered is far too impressive to be dismissed as simply due to unwarranted presuppositions. Unless you hold to a verbally inspired record and then seek to harmonize all the contradictions, honest historical criticism must admit that not everything reported can have happened as reported. Grass admits the possibility of conclusions less radical than his own, but he will not allow that the conclusions at which he arrives make it impossible to hold to the crucial Easter faith or disqualify him as a witness. Therefore, there is an answer here to the fears of those who hold that once you give up an inerrant record you invariably give up what is crucial and decisive. As the examples of his own preaching show, honest, historical criticism does not undermine a positive, unequivocal witness to the resurrected, ascended,

living Lord, in whom alone there is salvation. This exacting examination of the record cannot be answered by dogmatic fiat, but, as has been said, only by equally exacting scholarship. This is the challenge to those who cherish less radical conclusions, less legend and more historical fact.

MARTIN J. HEINECKEN

NEW TESTAMENT FAITH FOR TODAY. By Amos N. Wilder. New York: Harpers, 1955. 186 pp., \$2.50.

ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL. A COMMENTARY. By R. H. Lightfoot. Edited by C. F. Evans. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956. xiv and 368 pp., 30s.

THE MESSAGE OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL. By Eric Lane Titus. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1957. 253 pp., \$3.50.

"The interpreter of the Bible today," writes Professor Wilder (p. 9), "... must make clear how alien its assumptions and conceptions are from those of today"; at the same time "he must seek to convey this body of thought and faith in the most persuasive way possible to a different age." His own volume of lectures seeks to indicate ways in which the sometimes alien New Testament faith can be made relevant in an era of "postliberal recovery of the Bible." Commentaries are tools to help Bible student and parish theologian understand the strange world of the Scriptures and set forth its message with power; these two recent books on John provide examples of wide agreement and some differences on how contemporary scholarly exegesis treats the Fourth Gospel.

New Testament Faith for Today is a revision of four lectures originally delivered at Butler University (Indiana) in 1948, to which is added a chapter on "The Language of Faith" (previously published as "Myth and Symbol in the New Testament," in *Symbols and Values* [New York, 1954]), and a concluding section to draw the whole together. Dr. Wilder, of Harvard, lectures in a poetic style (including one quotation from his brother, novelist Thornton Wilder) to rouse men to faith by "a new encounter with the Bible" (p. 14). For decades, he maintains, the Bible has been misunderstood, but now there is hope for renewal—even in the rebels and

catastrophes which shocked Christendom "the Spirit has been at work" (p. 20)—and "recent biblical study has important insights to offer in the present dilemma of the Christian faith" (p. 35), in its synthesis of biblical theology. Beyond orthodoxy, modernism, and neo-orthodoxy, "the free kerygmatic tradition" (p. 168) and the biblical drama of *Heilsgeschichte* have something to say to modern man.

One difficulty in addressing men today, Wilder admits, is the Bible's use of symbol and myth. Here Bultmann's honesty in his existentialist program of demythologizing is saluted, but Wilder prefers to keep biblical myth—not literally, but as an "insight into abiding realities," with "continuing usefulness." Religion, he pleads, needs not merely rational prose, but "a special kind of language," mythopoetic statement. Myth, like art, offers a report of the world, "news of reality" through emotionally charged symbols, and we can never dispense with those employed in the New Testament. Perhaps this excellently phrased brief for myth is akin to Bultmann's allowance that mythical, traditional language has a place in liturgy, though not in proclamation (an admission which needs careful scrutiny); but Wilder's particular virtue is that he makes a case for employing the symbols of *Scripture*, and not a set of terms alien both to the biblical world of thought and to many men of our day.

The contents of three principal strata in the New Testament are then traced out, including the myth-symbols they employ, "The Proclamation of Jesus," "The Message of Paul," and "The Johannine Witness"; the power of each in its day and its relevancy for today are suggested, sometimes with restatement in modern terms. Throughout, two principles of Wilder are evident: Christianity must not fall prey to false otherworldliness, yet it must also "go beyond otherworldly faiths in its witness to ultimates" (p. 23).

The longest chapter, on Jesus' proclamation, is representative of the approach. According to Wilder, Jesus "was announcing a sublime Tomorrow for mankind" (p. 85), a Tomorrow which affects life here and life beyond. There is heavy emphasis on life here, hope for man in this world (contrary to some neo-orthodox jeremiads)—even an (atomic?) "inevitability of the death of the race should not discourage us from seeking the maximum attainment of human well-being and culture

in the interim" (p. 99). At the same time, place is given to "life beyond," though in a somewhat hazy way. The parousia is called "symbolic," and Wilder thinks in terms of "days of reckoning, if not a day of reckoning." The whole concept of "life beyond" comes off not just otherworldly but rather vaguely, and no evidence is offered for the statement that the return of Christ "was not understood literally in the late Jewish and early Christian religion" (p. 104).

Paul's message is seen to be quite in harmony with Jesus' proclamation, differing only in the fact that it is shaped from this side of Easter, and John's witness is viewed as offering a good basis for a world-wide faith, particularly valuable because it "sanctions a Christian freedom in all that concerns church, office, and sacrament" (p. 162 f.), a freedom so necessary nowadays. "Written from a point of view which runs counter to the rise of the early Catholic church" (shown, e.g., in the views of Ignatius), John is helpful today because it is both antignostic and anti-ecclesiastical, says Wilder.

Of the two commentaries on John here under review, the one, by Titus, makes much of this anti-ecclesiastical, anti-institutional side of the Fourth Gospel, while, curiously, holding that John "is not at all concerned with the docetic problem" (p. 69) but was somewhat gnostic himself. The other, by Lightfoot, takes the more usual position that John does reflect polemic against gnostic docetism. Lightfoot repeatedly tries to show, however, how the Fourth Gospel is a legitimate step in the developing theology of the early Catholic church; indeed, the author often reflects the standard patristic opinions on John and reads his christology in the light of the *Quicumque vult*.

The late R. H. LIGHTFOOT († 1953), of Oxford, who is said to have learned German because he felt he had a mission to present *Formgeschichte* to the English-speaking world, began work on this commentary for the Clarendon Bible (hence the use of the English Revised Version). It grew until the manuscript was too long for that series. Lightfoot then planned a volume parallel in scope to his earlier *The Gospel Message of St. Mark* (Oxford, 1950). At his death, the commentary proper was finished (only the treatment of John 9, pp. 199-201, seems disproportionately brief), and C. F. Evans wove together seven studies on various topics into a unified introductory essay. An ap-

pendent note, on "The Lord the true pas-sover," and indices complete the book.

There is little by way of introduction. Lightfoot puts the date about 100 A. D. (Titus makes it 110 to 140) and leaves the way open for traditional authorship by the eyewitness son of Zebedee, who must have had "a remarkable ability 'to move with the times'" (p. 4)—Titus infers the author did not know the historical Jesus (p. 245). Lightfoot sees no need for rearrangement of the text (only 7:53-8:11 is intrusive). Even 14:31, "Rise, let us go hence," in the midst of the Upper Room discourse which then runs on for two more chapters, is left in its place, put there, Lightfoot claims, "to remind the reader, in the midst of the Lord's discourse, how great was the cost to Him of that which in chs. 13 to 17 He reveals to His disciples" (p. 10), and because in these words "He invites the disciples to arise and act along with Him" in the pilgrimage to the Father and the passion (p. 271 ff.). Titus, rejecting such explanations (also found in C. H. Dodd), reorders the chapters: 13, 15, 16, 17, 14, 18. Lightfoot also seems to follow Dodd (to whom, along with Bernard and Hoskyns, he acknowledges his indebtedness) on "realized eschatology" (p. 26); the parousia becomes a "Presence," not a future return; "some better thing" is found than a Second Coming in the Logos doctrine, and Paul's talk about "the son of perdition" to be revealed (2 Thess. 2:3) is interpreted as already fulfilled in Judas (p. 301).

Lightfoot's purpose is "a religious and theological exposition of the text of St. John's gospel" (p. 1), and he does an admirable job in his aim "always to try to explain St. John by St. John" (p. vi.) For example, "the three chief 'parties'" of Ch. 9, the Pharisees, the enlightened beggar, and the Lord, are incisively compared with the world, the disciples, and the Paraclete in the instruction of 15:18-16:11 (p. 284). The outline developed is instructive when the prologue or introduction is extended from 1:18 through 2:11 to cover a cycle of seven days, a sort of "preparation for the ministry" which begins then with the historically misplaced but dramatically (and theologically) splendid cleansing of the temple. This then allows a presentation of the work of Christ in seven sections, the arrangement of the first (2:12-4:54), e.g., showing the touch of genius Lightfoot finds throughout John: two contrasted scenes, in Jerusalem and Galilee (the temple cleansed,

and the healing of the son of an officer, whose whole house believes), between which are inserted two conversations, with Nicodemus, representing official orthodoxy, and a Samaritan woman, symbolizing non-conformity.

The commentary expounds the ERV text section by section, and after every section brief notes deal with problem verses. All Greek is transliterated, and the book reads well, as a whole or by parts. It is the kind a parish pastor can pick up for orientation on a given pericope, without having to read through all the preceding pages. Lightfoot is particularly dependable in setting forth the significance of key terms in John and, all in all, provides a very practical volume for the preacher's use, not limited to verse by verse snippets of remarks; it is devoid of decorative illustrations of any sort, but solid to the core.

ERIC L. TITUS, a Canadian by birth, now professor of New Testament literature at Southern California School of Theology, has previously written on John, as co-author with E. C. Colwell, in *The Gospel of the Spirit* (Harper, 1953). Some of the contentions in that book are set forth among the presuppositions of this work. "John" is said to be a popular religionist, dependent on Paul and the Synoptics (Lightfoot agrees that he knew our first three gospels), who interprets and even refutes traditions of the past (e.g., Matt. 11:11-14, that the Baptist is Elijah, is rejected in 1:21, p. 70 f.). John's literary method, to which a long chapter of the introduction is devoted, is held to be decisive for exegesis of the whole, and the Logos idea is rejected as not really central to the book (contrary to Lightfoot, who regards it as a key). "Not Logos but Spirit is the concept which binds the elements of the Gospel together," Titus holds (p. 61), and his emphasis throughout on the Spirit is stimulating—and unorthodox.

Two examples will demonstrate the point. Titus feels the Fourth Gospel is anti-sacramentarian, opposing to the magic concepts of a "medicine of immortality" emerging in the Catholic church a far more evangelical stress on the life-giving Spirit. Thus "water" in the difficult phrase at 3:5, "born of water and the Spirit," he feels, does not represent an allusion to baptism (as many commentators glibly assume) and need not be regarded as a gloss; it "must be interpreted in the light of its development as a symbol" for the Spirit, as at 4:7-42 and the explicit identifica-

tion in 7:37-39. Since Lightfoot, who finds sacramental reference at 3:5 and elsewhere, in line with ecclesiastical tradition, allows that "the theme of water runs like a silver thread through the early chapters of this gospel" (pp. 120 f.) and notes the symbolism of water for life and the Spirit at 4:10, 14, 5:7-9, 6:35, and 7:38 (p. 203; cf. 262), it seems quite proper (in line with the principle of understanding John by John) to adopt the understanding Titus argues for here, equating the terms, "born out of water, *even Spirit*." Likewise at 19:34, the water which flows from Jesus' bleeding side is given similar meaning: the Spirit whom the glorified Christ pours forth. Thus far, stimulating application of the doctrine of the Spirit. But when Titus applies his Spirit-theme to the incarnation, the result is quite unorthodox, perhaps docetic or adoptonistic, for he sees the baptism of Jesus by John as the setting for the incarnation: "the divine Spirit merges with the man from Nazareth...; this is the point of the Incarnation (1:29-34)" (p. 53). John witnessed it! "The real *ego* of Jesus did not proceed by way of the womb, but through the descent from heaven. The *ego* of Jesus in John is the Spirit" (p. 55).

Titus' commentary thus offers an uncommon approach at many points, as he works through the Fourth Gospel section by section on the basis of frankly announced presuppositions. There is discerning use of work by Dodd, Bultmann, and W. F. Howard in the Interpreter's Bible. Readers will find a briefer, sharper presentation than Lightfoot's, with points of interpretation which will need to be weighed more carefully.

Nonetheless, the two writers show a surprising agreement on many points, considering their differing assumptions. Both, for example, see significance in Johannine details of time. The fact that "it was about the sixth hour" when Jesus sat at Jacob's well in Samaria (4:6) is taken as symbolical reference to Jesus' death (19:14) by both Lightfoot and Titus. The two agree in seeing deeper reference in the name "Siloam" (9:7) to "him who has been sent" (Lightfoot, 202 f.; Titus, 147). At times one feels they tread too heavily in the allegorical paths so dear to patristic exegesis, as when Lightfoot makes Mary in ch. 19 not just "the spiritual mother of all those who are or are to be reborn in Him" (p. 320), but also the new Eve; when he plays with the connections between the gardens of Eden and Jerusalem,

and when he even sees the risen Christ of 20:15 as "Keeper of the garden," paralleling Gen. 1-3. Titus' comment on Mary, p. 230, "Jesus' mother is taken into the church by a special act of Jesus himself," seems more soberly sensible.

The two commentaries differ, of course, on many specific details as well as on broad principles, the meaning, e.g., of 11:35, "Jesus wept." Titus finds the reason for his tears not merely in his love for Lazarus (11:36) but also because he saw the tears of Mary and Martha as symptoms of their unbelief. Lightfoot stresses that the tears come because he will now himself lay down his life for his friend; indeed, Lightfoot shows consistently throughout the chapter the cruciality of Lazarus' death for the career of Jesus.

Titus' book has two misprints in Greek: *kyrie* on p. 128, n. 37 is misspelled *Xúpie* and *ti* in p. 248 needs an acute accent. Neither author takes much account of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Titus insists John is "a Greek Gospel" and rejects any idea of relations between the evangelist and Qumran as proposed by Dupont-Sommer and K. G. Kuhn (p. 61, n. 9). But one wonders what Lightfoot had in mind when he wrote of 10:40-42, "Beyond Jordan, at any rate, were many humble and holy men of heart, for whom the Lord's work had not proved vain" (p. 218). Lightfoot, incidentally, writing more than six years ago, felt it was probably an error to seek for historical characters behind the "thieves and robbers" of 10:8 (p. 210); but Titus (p. 150 f.)

puts them in a second century milieu and suggests some Jewish messianic pretender, perhaps Bar Kokhba, but whether here he would allow allusion to Qumran materials, such as Cullmann claims, is unclear.

Naturally any number of other comparisons and suggestions might be made out of the continuing Johannine research of the past few years. Neither commentator mentions the definite article conjectured at 7:52 by Owen to read, "*The* Prophet will not come out of Galilee," now read by P⁶⁶ (Bodmer II). The alleged contradiction between 20:17 ("Touch me not") and the invitation at 20:27 to Thomas, to touch the Lord, need not involve so much distinction about when the ascent to the Father takes place in the time sequence, but the former can be more accurately rendered, "Do not keep on clinging to me," in distinction from the momentary offer made later on.

But all such omissions and differences between two commentaries from scholars of rather antithetical views do not obscure the broad consensus to which both point in the study of the Fourth Gospel. It is perhaps most significant that each spends little time on long-debated problems of author, date, etc.; the pendulum of interest in commentaries here has shifted to the theological message, and there is a concern for making the sounds of the Bible, alien or persuasive as they may be, ring clear to the ear of modern man.

JOHN REUMANN

CORRESPONDENCE

African Thinking and Biblical Thinking

Sir:

In the March, 1959 issue of *Lutheran World* Jan Hermelink depicted in his article "The New Africa and an Old Imperative" the process of dissolution of the old African religion, pointing out at the same time how the influence of this religion still persists in African thought and action. According to Hermelink it is characteristic of African thought and feeling that life is understood as a totality. Religion does not occupy a separate sphere, but permeates all areas of life: family, work, economics, politics, art, society. The individual too does not exist for himself alone, but always as part of a whole of a clan or a family. "To say 'Africa' is to say 'community'" (p. 351). It would also be possible to trace all the many other features of the picture of Africa drawn by Hermelink to this thinking in terms of the whole.

I am only surprised that in describing the problems that arise from this situation for Christian preaching and theology Hermelink does not refer to the amazing resemblance between this type of thought and biblical thought, especially that of the Old Testament. Old Testament scholars such as H. Wheeler Robinson, Johannes Pedersen and Sigmund Mowinckel have again and again come across this wholeness in the thought, feeling and life of ancient Israel and have treated it more than once. Even earlier Vilhelm Grönbech demonstrated similar characteristics in the thought of the ancient Greeks (Homer) and of the Norse and Icelandic peoples in the era of the sagas. This type of thought is evidently characteristic not of certain peoples but of a certain stage of development in all peoples. It is only to be regretted that as yet we have found no better term for this particular stage than "primitive," for we instinctively associate with this term the conception of a culture and religion on a level lower than our own. This conception arises even when one has no intention of entertaining it.

As Hermelink rightly sees, the effects of this type of thought persist for a long time. It can, for example, be easily demonstrated in the New Testament. To take just a single, but important, example: the New Testament concept of *soteria* and the corresponding verb *sozein* are concerned with the *whole* man, i.e. not only with his soul but his body as well. *Soteria* is not only forgiveness of sins or

deliverance at the time of judgment, it is also the healing of sickness. When the Germanic tribes became Christian, the missionaries of that time were in a position, by using the word *Heil* with all its connotations of thought and feeling, to render the New Testament term *soteria* much better than we could possibly do with any word of modern languages. From the basic word *Heil* derives not only the word *heilig* (holy), but also the word *heilen* (to heal)—concepts which it can be seen no longer have any inner relation to one another today. The same is true, incidentally, of the Latin term *salus*.

When we say today that these words have a double meaning, we are already thinking in modern terms, for the ancient peoples thought of them as a unity. Our thinking has progressed to sharper differentiation, but we have had to pay for this progress with the loss of the ability to think in terms of the whole.

The Africans, however, evidently still think like the Israelites of the Bible, particularly of the Old Testament. This offers a new insight for the evangelization of Africa, an insight which could also be important for the questions dealt with in the article by Arne Sovik. The missionaries have had to use their European thinking, without reflection as it were and as a matter of course, to convey to the people of Africa and Asia the content of the Christian faith. The feeling of these Africans and Asians that the Christianity being offered them is something European, is thus more profoundly—one might almost say, more biblically—based, than people are generally willing to allow. Shouldn't it be possible to go as far to meet the Africans' (and Asians') thinking in terms of the whole as the Bible itself allows, in fact really demands?

This is not to say that we could simply pass over the great intellectual achievement of the history of Christian dogma and the many experiences undergone by the church in the course of nearly two thousand years. But the present world situation does seem to demand of us that we learn again to live out and to express our faith in a "primitive" fashion, i.e., in terms of wholeness. In this endeavor we have no need to look upon the thinking of Africans as a threat. It can rather be a means of helping Christians in the West to acquire a new and more adequate understanding of the witness of the Bible for our time.

Oslo, Norway

THORLEIF BOMAN

AN ADVISORY BOARD FOR THE LUTHERAN WORLD

With the present issue the Lutheran World enters its sixth year as a bilingual journal of the Lutheran World Federation appearing in two separate editions, English and German. The actual decision to establish the journal in this form goes back to the meeting of the Executive Committee in Trondheim, Norway in 1953, but the decision may be regarded as a consequence of the great unity of the Lutheran churches throughout the world which was first experienced at the Hannover Assembly in 1952. The Hannover theme "The Living Word in a Responsible Church" led the Lutheran churches to a fresh consideration of their task as churches in the world of today and to consideration of responsible action amongst and for their members. No less did it lead to a renewed questioning in regard to the primary and special charge laid upon this church, namely "the living word." There was at Hannover a consciousness of all the often seemingly insuperable difficulties hindering mutual understanding between Christians who had been led along such divergent historical paths. At the same time there was the knowledge that the unity Lutherans had experienced was not only a gift but a task, and that this task must be fulfilled in unremitting exchange of thought and theology. The journal came upon the scene to further this exchange. In the years since it has served as the vehicle of the most widespread exchange of ideas within the Lutheran World Federation. It has given information on organizations and trends of thought in Lutheranism and the ecumenical world. It has not been afraid to allow differences of opinion to come to light, where such have existed, and has trusted that in the course of brotherly discussion a new and better unity would grow out of the differences. In spite of many kinds of tension, it has never been disappointed in this expectation.

The editor of the Lutheran World, while closely devoted to the cause of the federation, has enjoyed great freedom to carry out his work. From the organizational point of view the character of the journal as a publication of the Lutheran World Federation found expression in the fact that the officers of the federation, in accordance with the Trondheim resolution, constituted the Editorial Board, that is, the body to which the editor is responsible; in the terminology of the federation one could say that it is supposed to be the "commission" of Lutheran World. Meanwhile a circle of friends, readers and contributors has grown up in all countries, people who communicate to the editor their ideas and their approval or disapproval, and who also endeavor as far as possible to pass on the subjects dealt with in the journal and to consider them further within their own circles.

The Executive Committee decided at its last meeting in Strasbourg to call upon a representative group deriving from this wider circle to place itself at the disposal of the journal as a sort of official advisory body on all important questions. The executive secretary and the editor had already carried on extensive correspondence with the member churches concerning the formation of this board. The correspondence revealed a surprising degree of interest in just such questions of world Lutheranism. The board is now almost fully constituted. If one includes three countries which have not yet sent in their definite consent, Lutherans from sixteen

countries all told are represented on the board. In its present form the board thus represents in every respect as it were an almost ecumenical cross-section of world Lutheranism. In Europe it is not only the Nordic and German churches which are represented on the board, but also members of the European minority churches in France, the Netherlands, Czechoslovakia, Poland and, we hope, Hungary. The participation of the churches in Africa and Asia, who will have all together four representatives on the Advisory Board, is a cause for special rejoicing and certainly also a sign of the way in which the non-western churches are becoming more and more clearly an organic part of world Lutheranism.

A further characteristic of the board is the cooperation of representatives of various areas of church life: theologians, church leaders, laymen, persons working in parishes and on the mission field. In all probability the board when finally constituted will comprise 30 members, of whom five come from churches in the United States, five from Germany, seven from the Nordic countries and five from the European minority churches; Asia and Africa each have two representatives on the board, Latin America and Australia each have one. Dr. Keith Bridston, secretary of the Department of Faith and Order, is also on the board as representative of the World Council of Churches.

In the next few years the work of the board will have to develop largely without much organizational aid from the federation. Its chief medium will be correspondence between the individual members of the board and between the members and the editor, but we hope that in addition those members of the advisory board who live near centers where other meetings and conferences of the Lutheran World Federation are being held will be able to attend such meetings or to meet with one another in connection with them. It can be assumed that the work to be done on the journal in preparation for the assembly in Helsinki in 1963 will draw the members of the board so closely together that the best conditions will exist for the further planning of the work of the journal which will then be necessary.

An important theme among the matters to be considered is the question of the audience of *Lutheran World*. In all countries, or at least in the western countries, recent years have brought basic changes of emphasis in the publication of periodicals. Theological journals find it hard going both in Europe and the United States. It seems that the tendency toward specialization, which has carried theology along in its wake, is drawing a sharp distinction between those engaged in scholarly work and those engaged in church work, and that the readership of a theological journal is thus more restricted than it used to be. But the situation in regard to church papers proper has also changed in Europe, as opposed perhaps in this case to the United States. In Europe church papers have also suffered a decline and have given place to a type of newspaper or journal which reaches a wider public but is less directly molded by the church.

Now it is by no means necessary, in weighing up one's expectations regarding the potentialities of a journal like *Lutheran World*, to draw pessimistic conclusions. On the contrary, it could be that these changes are the expression of a number

of very positive factors. It could be that they show that today a journal can find its place neither as a mere church newspaper nor as a purely scholarly theological journal, but that it may seek its place in a concern for the unity of research, preaching and teaching. Indeed it should go even further and embrace the whole gamut of problems of modern life in its political, social and cultural aspects. Thus there could be a real need today for an ecumenical journal, ecumenical "with reference to a consciousness of the Church Universal and to the essential unity of its various branches" and not merely with reference to "the objective fact of extension in space or of validity accepted by the whole Church" (W. A. Visser 't Hooft, in A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948, edited by Ruth Rouse and Stephen Neill, p. 738).

It is in this sense that we should like the journal to develop more and more into an ecumenical journal supported by the Lutheran churches. The editor hopes that this desire will gain the support of the Advisory Board, as in the past it has met with understanding on the part of the leaders of the Lutheran World Federation. He believes that in so doing the journal will be fulfilling an essential role in our churches, in world Lutheranism and in the ecumenical movement.

HANS BOLEWSKI

EDITORIAL NOTES

The main articles in this issue are devoted to the theme of exegesis and preaching. Dr. NILS A. DAHL is professor of New Testament on the faculty of theology of the University of Oslo and a member of the LWF Commission on Theology; Dr. CLAUS WESTERMANN is professor of Old Testament at the University of Heidelberg; Dr. KRISTER STENDAHL is associate professor of New Testament at Harvard Divinity School, Cambridge, Mass.; and Dr. WERNER SCHULTZ is professor of systematic theology at the University of Kiel.

The reports in the section "LWF and Ecumenical World" are by Dr. SIGURD ASKE, associate director of the LWF Department of World Mission; Dr. RUTH WICK, director of the international exchange program of the National Lutheran Council in New York; the Rev. EUGENE RIES, LWF senior representative in Vienna, Austria; the Rev. DAISUKE KITAGAWA, special assistant for the World Council of Churches study on rapid social change; and Miss ALISON MATHERS, of the Public Information Division of the United Nations Children's Fund, New York.

The report on youth in West Germany is by Dr. HANS-OTTO WÖLBER, Hauptpastor in Hamburg, who is shortly to publish the results of his investigations in this area in a longer work. Dr. WILLIAM E. HULME, professor of pastoral theology and pastoral counseling at Wartburg Theological Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa, has spent the past year as Lutheran tutor at Mansfield College, Oxford. IDELMO POGGIOLI is one of the first Lutheran pastors of Italian origin in Italy, and SERGIO ROSTAGNO is a pastor of the Waldensian church and has been connected with the work of the former ecumenical work camp and present youth center "Agape." Dr. OLOV HARTMAN is director of the Sigtuna Foundation in Sweden. EMIL EDGAR is an art historian and author of a number of studies on the history of Lutheran architecture and the Lutheran church in what is now Czechoslovakia.

*The letter to the editor comes from Dr. Thorleif Boman, of Oslo, author of an important work on *Das hebräische Denken im Vergleich mit dem griechischen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht). We should like to recommend this book to our readers.*

Book reviews have been contributed by Dr. David Löfgren, Pastor Peter Fraenkel and Dr. Gottfried Hornig, all of Lund, Sweden; Willi J. Knoob, of the Institute of Ethnology of the University of Cologne; Dr. John Reumann and Dr. Martin J. Heineken, both of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia; and the Revs. Jacob Kumaresan and Daniel Bitsch and Drs. Sigfrid Estborn and Paul David, all of Gurukul Lutheran Theological Seminary and Research Institute, Kilpauk, Madras.

Events in the Ecumenical World

1959

July 25 - August 2	International Conference on Rapid Social Change	Anatolia College, Thessalonike
July 27 - August 6	World Presbyterian Alliance, 18th General Council	Sao Paulo, Brazil
July 29 - August 6	LWF, Commission on World Mission	Nyborg, Denmark
August 7 - 9	LWF, Theological Conference for Pastors	Oxford, England
August 13 - 15	IMC/WCC, Joint Committee	Spittal, Austria
August 15 - 18	WCC, Faith and Order, Orthodox Consultation	Athens, Greece
August 17 - 18	WCC, Executive Committee	Athens, Greece
August 18 - 29	WCC, Central Committee	Rhodes, Greece
August 18 - 22	LWF, Theological Conference for Pastors	Neuendettelsau, Germany
August 22 - 26	WCC, Faith and Order, Theological Commission on Tradition and Traditions, European Section	Oude Poelgeest, Netherlands
August 24 - 26	LWF, Theological Conference for Pastors	Berlin-Spandau, Germany
September 1 - 5	WCC, Department on the Laity, Consultation with Church Historians on "The Laity in Historical Perspective"	Bossey, Switzerland
September 2 - 5	LWF, Commission on World Service	Paris, France
October 1 - February 15	8th Session of the Graduate School of Ecumenical Studies	Bossey, Switzerland

1960

January 12 - 14	LWF, Stewardship and Congregational Life Conference	Berlin, Germany
January 14 - 16	LWF, Commission on Stewardship and Congregational Life	Berlin, Germany
March 20 - 25	LWF, Executive Committee	Porto Alegre, Brazil

LUTHERAN WORLD
publication of the
LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION

Editorial Board :

Dr. Franklin Clark Fry, Bishop Lajos Ordass, Bishop Bo Giertz, Bishop Rajah B. Manikam,
Dr. Rudolf Weeber, Dr. Carl E. Lund-Quist

Editor :

The Rev. Dr. Hans Bolewski,
Evangelical Academy, Loccum/Wunstorf (Hann.), Germany

Assistant for the English Language Edition :

Harold Remus
17 route de Malagnou, Geneva, Switzerland

LITERATURE SURVEY

A REVIEW OF RECENT THEOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS

PUBLISHED AS A SUPPLEMENT TO LUTHERAN WORLD BY THE DEPARTMENT OF THEOLOGY
OF THE LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION

JUNE

1959

Biblical Theology

DAS LEBEN JESU DER HEILSGESCHICHTE [*The Life of Jesus in Heilsgeschichte*]. By Ernst Barnikol. Halle (Saale): VEB Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1958. 566 pp., 1 map, DM 22.50.

This work is divided into three main parts. The first deals with the history of New Testament research on the subject (paragraphs 1-69: from the kerygma of primitive Christianity via the history of dogma to Rudolf Steiner, Drews, Bousset, E. Stauffer, G. Bornkamm and W. Grundmann), the second with the history of salvation (*Heilsgeschichte*) as set forth in 158 pericopes (p. 340 ff.). The method used is indicated by the correlation of the "life of Jesus" and "*Heilsgeschichte*." The author's intention is to present, independently of "the personal attitude of the person doing the research," the "unique set of historical facts" of "what really happened" and yet at the same time to see Jesus historically "as the climax of the revelation which began with the prophets." Prominence is given to the idea of Jesus as the personality of a religion of culture, although the "fragmentary sources" admit of no precise biography. Both the kerygmatic or dogmatic "doctrine of the unity of the canonical New Testament or of the whole Bible," and "the life-of-Jesus historicism" of liberal theology are to be rejected. The third part, intended as a historical account, uses the words of the New Testament, largely interwoven with interpretative elements, but places them under the heading: "Jesus—Man and Son, the Savior from God, Obedient to the Death on the Cross."

QUMRAN UND DAS JOHANNES-EVANGELIUM [*Qumran and the Gospel of*

John]. By Günther Baumbach. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1958. 60 pp., DM 2.70.

This comparison of the dualistic statements in the Qumran Manual of Discipline and the Gospel of John (and also taking into account Jewish apocalyptic) is a condensation of a doctoral dissertation (Berlin, 1957) on dualism in the Dead Sea scrolls and in John. The author discusses (1) dualism in the transcendent world: the doctrine of God, angels and spirits, the doctrine of Satan; (2) dualism in the immanent world: cosmology, ethics, the understanding of history; (3) the application of the dualistic concept of light and darkness. In the appendix he attempts a sociological and psychological explanation of the emergence of dualism in the discipline of the community. In each case the interpretation of passages from the scrolls is followed by a discussion of apparently similar material in John and Revelation, and of parallels in the writings of intertestamental Judaism. The author concludes that there was only a limited affinity; but the theory that the Qumran community and its religious life were "the determinative source of the Johannine writings is hardly correct."

STUDIEN ZU ANTIKE UND UR-CHRISTENTUM. Gesammelte Aufsätze Band II [*Studies in Classical Antiquity and Primitive Christianity. Collected Essays, Vol. II*]. (Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie, edited by E. Wolf, Vol. 28.) By Günther Bornkamm. Munich: Christian Kaiser Verlag, 1959. 257 pp., DM 15.00.

Four important essays in this collection are a continuation of the Pauline studies that made up the author's first collection of essays (*Das Ende des Gesetzes*, 1952). "Law and Nature" examines Romans 2:14-16, demonstrating, in antithesis to the interpretation

presently prevailing, "that Paul here makes positive use of the idea of natural law found in Greek and Roman thought" (p. 93). "Faith and Reason in Paul" shows that (in spite of 1 Cor. 1-3) "the rational nature of man... as an important concern of the apostle... has not been given nearly enough consideration by exegesis" (p. 137). "The Lord's Supper and the Church in Paul" is a lengthy examination of 1 Cor. 10:1-22 and 11:17-34: Paul argues not against the under-rating but against the overrating of the sacramental *communio* in Corinth, which had induced the congregation to regard the common meal preceding the *communio* as of no importance. Paul, however, is concerned precisely with the insight "that the body of Christ... received in the sacrament joins together the recipients in the 'body' of the congregation and makes them responsible for one another in love" (p. 169). "On the Interpretation of the Hymn in Phil. 2:6-11" culminates in theological and homiletical consideration of the problem of how to preach on this text with its very mystic language. In addition to the Pauline studies there are three other New Testament studies. The aim of the essay "The Idea of Reward in the New Testament" is to regain, in the face of moral and religious prejudices, a proper understanding of the New Testament idea of "reward." In the New Testament, "reward" is nowhere employed as a motivation of genuine obedience or as a confirmation of the meritoriousness of human action; on the contrary, "reward" always refers to the gracious privilege of sharing in the majesty of God. "The Confession in Hebrews" is examined chiefly in respect to its formal origin. Bornkamm comes to the conclusion that what is found in the epistle is the baptismal confession which is constantly repeated in the eucharistic hymn of praise. "The Composition of the Apocalyptic Visions in Revelation" throws much light on the complicated structure of the Book of Revelation. Whereas the visions of the seals in chapters 6-7 form a sort of overture to the content of the book as a whole and adumbrate that content in compressed and enigmatic outlines, chapters 8-22 give the content of the book of the seven seals in two sections, chapters 8-14 and 15-22. The sections are related to one another as the provisional to the climactic, type to antitype, a fragmentary and a finished design, intimation and interpretative retrospection. Of a general the-

ological nature are the essays "The Judgment of God in History" and "The Word of God and the Word of Man in the New Testament." The volume is introduced by the study "Man and God in Greek Antiquity," which traces the picture of religious man through ancient Greek history. The last essay is by Jean Paul, "Report from the dead Christ, speaking from the cosmos, that there is no God," and has an epilogue by Bornkamm.

JESAIA 53 IN CHRISTLICHER UND JÜDISCHER SICHT [*Isaiah 53 in Christianity and Judaism*]. (*Aufsätze und Vorträge zur Theologie und Religionswissenschaft 4.*) By Erich Fascher. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1958. 58 pp., DM 2.70.

This monograph traces the history of the exegesis of Isaiah 53. The New Testament interprets the chapter as Jesus himself did: in it he saw his own work outlined. In the section on intertestamental Judaism the author demonstrates the tension which existed between the image of the suffering servant of God and the messianic hopes of Judaism. In rejecting this image Judaism gave a new interpretation to Isaiah 53 or denied that it had any messianic significance. Isaiah 53 does not play a decisive role in the messianic hopes of Judaism and in its various messianic movements. Even as early a theologian as Origen had to defend the individual interpretation of Isaiah 53 (which regards the servant as the Messiah) against a collective interpretation which identifies the servant with Israel. Other defenders of the individual interpretation are found among the church fathers and the Reformers. Modern historico-critical exegesis, on the other hand, sees in the servant a contemporary of Deutero-Isaiah or agrees with modern Jewish exegesis in its collective interpretation. The author is professor of New Testament at Humboldt University in Berlin.

DAS BUCH VOM REICH. *Das zweite Buch Samuel [The Book of the Kingdom: Second Samuel]*. (*Die Botschaft des Alten Testaments, 11, 2.*) By Karl Gutbrod. Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1958. 290 pp., DM 12.80.

This commentary on 2 Samuel admits the validity of the thesis propounded by Albrecht Alt, Leonhard Rast and others, that the book was compiled from earlier sources relat-

ing the story of David and Israel (such as the "History of the Rise of David" and the "History of the Succession to the Throne of David"). Nevertheless it deliberately follows the intentions of the final redactor and thus comes to the conclusion that 2 Samuel 1-24, with no prejudice to the literary connections between it and the preceding and subsequent sections of the Deuteronomic work, does contain a theme of its own: the emergence of the kingdom of Israel. Gutbrod seeks to show that in spite of all the biographical details, the work and person of David are not the real core of the book, since the king appears only as an instrument in the hand of God. Called from being a shepherd, David is only the bearer of the destiny of Israel, the people that was redeemed by God from a nomadic existence and made into a great nation. Here the theological interpretation begins: even the kingdom of David is only a pale image of the true kingdom, which Christ, the true Anointed One, who calls himself the Son of David, inaugurates and consummates. At the same time, however, Christ will call in question and pass judgment upon the personal will and deeds of David. Gutbrod's interpretation of the book falls into four main sections: (1) the bases of the kingdom, 1:1—4:12; (2) the establishment and development of the kingdom, 5:1—11:1; (3) convulsions in the kingdom, 11:2—20:26; (4) appendix, characteristics of the kingdom, 21:1—24:25.

MATTEUKSEN EVANKELIUMI, SUOMALAINEN UUDEN TESTAMENTIN SELITYS I [*The Gospel of Matthew*]. By Esko Haapa. Helsinki: Kirjapaja, 1958. 352 pp., 1300 fmk.

The Finnish New Testament commentary will consist of 12 sections when completed. Counting the present volume, nine have already been published. The author compares in particular the presentation of Matthew with that of Mark, the commentary on which he has also written for this series. As a result of this comparison the distinctive character of the first gospel emerges very clearly. The author throws much light on the theology of Matthew, the division of the book and the way in which the Old Testament is interpreted, one of the characteristics of this evangelist. Haapa refers to the most recent pertinent literature.

DER KÖNIGLICHE KNECHT. *Eine traditionsgeschichtlich-exegetische Studie über die Ebed-Jahwe-Lieder bei Deuterjesaja* [*The Royal Servant: The Ebed Jahweh Songs from the Standpoint of Exegesis and Tradition Criticism*]. (Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, New Series, 52.) By Otto Kaiser. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959. 146 pp., DM 12.80.

The author treats the exegetical problems connected with the "Servant Songs" of Deutero-Isaiah. He starts out from the presupposition that the songs form part of Deutero-Isaiah as a whole and comes to the conclusion that the servant is the true Israel, now in exile. An examination of the underlying traditions reveals that the most persistent influence is that of the forms and ideas connected with the ideology of kingship. Recognizing that the era of the Davidic kingdom is past, Deutero-Isaiah of course reaches back to older traditions and emphasizes the kingly rule of God. The community as the servant of God has the task of witnessing to this rule. Since this is also the task of the prophet, the question of an individual versus a collective interpretation of the figure of the servant recedes behind the common activity of community and prophet. The prophet very probably presented his songs in the worship service of the exiled community. The addressing of the community as an individual, too, is also prefigured in the ancient cultic practice of consulting oracles. The interpretation of suffering as sacrifice, found in the fourth song, indicates a priestly point of view.

DAS NEUE TESTAMENT. *Geschichte der Erforschung seiner Probleme* [A History of New Testament Research]. (Orbis Academicus, Vol. III, 3.) By Werner Georg Kimmell. Freiburg/Munich: Verlag Karl Alber, 1958. 596 pp., DM 42.50.

In this work the author, professor of New Testament at Marburg, provides a counterpart in the New Testament area to such books as Hans-Joachim Kraus's *Geschichte der historisch-kritischen Erforschung des Alten Testaments* (see *Literature Survey* No. 1, 1957), Herbert F. Hahn's *The Old Testament in Modern Research* and Emil G. Kraeling's *The Old Testament since the Reformation*. The author's purpose is not to treat the his-

tory of New Testament research in its entirety. He confines himself to showing how the problems and methods that have persisted down to the present came into being and maintained their existence. To that end he gives excerpts from the exegetes themselves, with a brief biographical and theological introduction for each. The result is a textbook of New Testament criticism, from Origen down to Bultmann and Hoskyns. The main emphasis, however, is upon the development of New Testament research since the Enlightenment, i.e. since the time when scholars began to study the New Testament with purely historical interests in mind. The ancient church, the Middle Ages and the Reformation are all treated only as "pre-history" preceding the two "decisive stimuli": textual criticism and ideological criticism of English deism. Under the heading "The Founding of the Chief Disciplines of New Testament Scholarship," Kümmel sets forth the first systematic and critical study of the New Testament, associated with the names of Semler, Lessing and Herder and traceable to the two "stimuli" mentioned above. Other chapters are devoted to the strictly historical approach to the New Testament, the *religionsgeschichtlich* and the historical and theological approaches. In the conclusion Kümmel says that the lesson of the more recent critical study of the New Testament is that New Testament scholarship is failing to fulfill its task if the scholar *qua* scholar closes his eyes to the fact that the New Testament calls for decision. The appendix contains an annotated bibliography of the sources cited, biographical details and an index.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE THEOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.
By Alan Richardson. London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1958. 423 pp.

While after the death of George Stevens of Yale there was a dearth of books in English dealing with New Testament theology, the recent past has been the occasion for many efforts in this field. Some have been translated from the German, e.g., the New Testament theologies of Rudolf Bultmann and Ethelbert Stauffer. And among writers in English there recently appeared A. M. Hunter's *Introduction to New Testament Theology*. Now Alan Richardson, certainly no stranger to this particular field, has come out with the present work under the modest title

of an introduction. He starts with the assertion that there are many positions from which to write a theology, and that while one cannot "prove" historical hypotheses, it can be shown that some hypotheses are better than others. The hypothesis of Richardson is not that Christianity evolved from Jewish piety but rather that "Jesus himself is the author of the brilliant reinterpretation of the Old Testament scheme of salvation... which is found in the New Testament, and that the events of the life, 'signs,' passion and resurrection of Jesus, as attested by the apostolic witness, can account for the 'data' of the New Testament better than any other hypothesis current today." Departing somewhat from traditional categories, Richardson articulates his presupposition in the first chapter and thereafter deals in subsequent chapters with the kingdom of God, the Holy Spirit, the christology of the apostolic church and other areas.

PAULUS. DIE THEOLOGIE DES APOSTELS IM LICHT DER JÜDISCHEN RELIGIONSGESCHICHTE [Paul. *The Theology of the Apostle in the Light of the Jewish Religion*]. By Hans-Joachim Schoeps. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1959. 324 pp., DM 32.50.

The goal of the author, professor of the history of thought and religions at Erlangen University, is to approach Pauline theology from the standpoint of an objective historian of religions unhampered by any confessional loyalties. His main concern is to interpret that theology in the light of its Jewish background. In the introductory chapter on the state of Pauline research and its problems, Schoeps tries to show that all attempts of interpreters to demonstrate unity in the thought of this contradictory personality are inevitably misinterpretations of Paul. He then outlines the place occupied by Paul in primitive Christianity: if F. C. Baur's hypothesis of an antithesis between Paul and the primitive church is to be rejected, yet it is still true that "Paul and Pauline theology were in Paul's day nothing more than one stream among others, and not even the most important one at that" (p. 84). The examination of the main elements in Paul's thought, which takes up the major portion of the work, leads to the following conclusions. (1) Paul's *eschatology* derived from traditional Jewish elements which, under the impression

of his Damascus experience and the resulting certainty that the long-awaited messianic age had begun, were reshaped and reinterpreted by drawing on the apocalyptic doctrine of the two aeons. (2) Pauline *soteriology* fused soteriological teachings with the Hellenistic myth of the son of God and thus created the germ of the later christological systems. (3) Paul's *understanding of the law* rests upon a legalistic misunderstanding of the law to which Paul's background as a Hellenized Jew of the diaspora led him to succumb. Paul did not see that the "law" in the biblical sense is a *covenant* law, the constituting act of the Sinai Covenant which placed Israel in a true contractual relation to God. Consequently Paul makes a false distinction between the covenant and the law by calling Christ the end of the law; he thereby takes the step that puts him definitely outside of Judaism. (4) Paul's theology of the law leads to his conception of *saving history* in which the church becomes the new people of God who inherit the promises given to Israel. In the concluding "Outline of the History of the Interpretation of Paul" Schoeps comes to the conclusion that after a long period of repression and reinterpretation of Pauline teaching in the church, Luther was the first to do him justice, although the difference between Luther's problems and those of Paul led Luther to distort much in Paul: Paul is the "saint" of the Reformation.

DOCUMENTS FROM OLD TESTAMENT TIMES. *Edited by D. Winton Thomas.* New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1958. xxvi and 302 pp., \$5.00.

This fourth volume in a series issued by the Society for Old Testament Study is a presentation "of non-biblical documents illustrative of the Old Testament," especially for those who are not professional scholars. The material is divided into the following sections: cuneiform, Egyptian, Moabite, Hebrew, and Aramaic documents. Selections include historical, mythological, legal, didactic and wisdom, cultic, and business documents, and hymns, prayers, and letters. Each text is preceded by an introduction and explanation, and is followed by footnotes and a brief bibliography. Special attempts are made to relate each text to that part of the Old Testament which it may illuminate. Large documents are not reproduced in full, and in some cases only very limited excerpts

are taken (e.g., Babylonian Epic of Creation, Code of Hammurabi, Tell el-Amarna letters, Legend of Aqhat, Elephantine papyri). The texts are translated by members of the Society for Old Testament Study, including Black, Diringer, Fish, J. Gray, McHardy Mauchline, Plumley, Rowley, Snaith, D. W. Thomas, and Wiseman.

Historical Theology

ARCHIV FÜR REFORMATIONSGESCHICHTE, BD. 49 1/II. *Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von Prof. Dr. Gerhard Ritter [In Honor of Dr. Gerhard Ritter's 70th Birthday]. Edited by Gerhard Ritter, Erich Haslinger, Harold J. Grimm, Roland H. Bainton, Heinrich Bornkamm.* Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1958. 336 pp., DM 26.00.

This volume in honor of the Reformation historian Gerhard Ritter consists of 17 essays on the history of the 16th and 17th centuries. Those on theological subjects come first: G. Rupp, "World and Spirit in the First Years of the Reformation" (an examination, in English, of the relation between the "external" and "internal" word in the discussion carried on by Luther, Carlstadt, Münzer and others); H. Bornkamm, "Luther's Doctrine of the Two Kingdoms in the Context of his Theology" (a discussion, also published separately, of a problem frequently treated today); H. J. Grimm, "The Human Element in Luther's Sermons" (a study, in English, showing Luther as an extremely effective preacher and bringing out the salient features of his preaching). The other studies deal with subjects of a more historical nature: E. G. Schwiebert, "New Groups and Ideas at the University of Wittenberg" (in English; the change in the university between 1502 and 1536); P. Rassow, "Charles the Fifth's Daughter Mary as a Possible Successor to the Spanish Throne"; E. Staehelin, "A Mural in the Basel Town Hall as seen in the Context of Political Events in the 16th Century"; E. G. Léonard, "The Brazilian Confession of Faith of 1557" (in French; a confession with notable deviations from Calvinistic teaching on freedom of the will, predestination and laying on of hands); St. Kot, "The Rise and Fall of the Anabaptists in Vilna"; E. Haslinger, "Religious Tolerance in the 16th and 17th Centuries: Economic Motives and

Arguments"; D. Cantimori, "M. A. De Dominis" (in Italian; on a champion of a utopian scheme of reconciliation between Rome and Protestantism); G. Franz, "Faith and Law in the Political Thinking of Emperor Ferdinand II"; C. Hinrichs, "Pietism and Militarism in Early Prussia" (a revealing glimpse into the ecclesiastical situation in Prussia in the 18th century); I. Höss, "Spalatin's Tractate 'De Sacramento Eucharistiae'"; W. Maurer, "Melanchthon's Part in the Controversy between Luther and Erasmus"; C. Bauer, "Melanchthon's Economic Ethics"; E. W. Zeeden, "Luther as seen through Calvin's Letters"; R. Nürnberger, "Calvin and Servetus."

BEGEGNUNG MIT DER KIRCHE VON ENGLAND [*Encounter with the Church of England*]. By Georg Günter Blum. Kassel: Johannes Stauda-Verlag, 1959. 132 pp.

The author of this book, published with the help of Hans Dombois and the *Michaelsbruderschaft*, spent a year in England on a scholarship from the World Council of Churches. One of the forewords is by Dombois, the other by Stephen Neill. The book has as its purpose to present a picture of the Anglican church in its setting in English thought and history. Some of the chief elements he emphasizes are the catholicity of the Church of England, which enables it to occupy a place somewhere between Rome and Geneva; its orientation toward public worship (in which adoration and not preaching is central); its theological breadth, which makes it possible for opposing tendencies to live side by side and which is rooted in the conviction that the historical character of the body of Christ is the constitutive factor of the church and not agreement in doctrine; its relation to the state, in which it is a "national church" feeling itself responsible for the life of the entire nation, but no longer a "folk church" in that the majority of the people in the country no longer belong to it.

LUTHERS LEHRE VON DEN ZWEI REICHEN IM ZUSAMMENHANG SEINER THEOLOGIE [*Luther's Doctrine of the Two Kingdoms in the Context of his Theology*]. By Heinrich Bornkamm. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1958. 32 pp., DM 3.20.

The current debate over Luther's doctrine of the two kingdoms has been complicated somewhat by the fact that the problem has been tackled primarily abstractly and systematically. Bornkamm goes at it historically, examining the concrete questions which were the occasion for Luther's making the distinction. He confines himself to the mature form of the doctrine in the writing from 1523, "How Far Should our Subjection to the Higher Powers Extend?" The doctrine has three dimensions, says Bornkamm: church and state, the relation between sacred and secular, and the activity of the Christian on behalf of himself and others. "But the three dimensions are only aspects of one and the same thing, the basic relation between the gospel and the ordering of the world." A comparison with Augustine shows that Augustine's doctrine of the two cities had only one dimension: sacred-secular. Nevertheless this distinction gave Luther the instrument he needed to separate from one another the heterogeneous elements in the medieval conceptions of church and state and once again to impart to the community of believers (in the gospel) its transcendent significance. Going beyond Augustine, Luther finds in the governance of God through the state and law the element that makes it possible to show Christians how their responsibility in society can be meaningfully exercised in a way that does not contradict the categorical commands of Jesus. Luther's doctrine of the two kingdoms can be understood only by seeing it in the context of his understanding of the Sermon on the Mount as a problem raised by the Bible itself. The study concludes by pointing out that the present debate on the doctrine must see it in its proper context in Luther's theology as a whole, where it serves as the basis of his political ethic.

EPOCHEN KAROLINGISCHER THEOLOGIE. *Eine Untersuchung über die karolingischen Gutachten zum byzantinischen Bilderstreit* [Epochs in Carolingian Theology: An Examination of the Carolingian Statements on the Iconoclastic Controversy]. (Theologische Arbeiten Vol. X.) By Gert Haendler. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1958. 168 pp., DM 11.80.

This work, an inaugural dissertation presented to the theological faculty of Humboldt University in East Berlin in 1954, is a thorough

study of the motives behind the Carolingian attitude toward the iconoclastic controversy in the Eastern church. In contrast to the presently prevailing opinion that the rejection by the Carolingian West of the icon veneration sanctioned at that time in the East stemmed primarily from tactical and political considerations, the author shows that the cause of the rejection was religious as much as it was political. The West's rejection of the veneration of icons must be seen in a larger theological context. This theological aspect becomes particularly evident when the iconoclastic statements of 791 are compared with the later Frankish opinion (of 825) taking the opposite stand. In the statements of 791 the authority of Scripture and the person of Christ occupy the central place in theological thought, whereas in those of 825 the church fathers and Mary are more prominent. Thus in its attitude toward the East in 791, the West's striving for ecclesiastical and political independence is connected with a theology oriented to the center of the Christian faith and critical of the elements of popular piety.

DEN KATEKETISKA UNDERVISNINGEN I SVERIGE UNDER MEDELTIDEN [*Catechetical Instruction in Sweden in the Middle Ages (with a summary in German)*]. (*Bibliotheca Theologiae Practicae, Vol. 8.*) By Bengt Ingemar Kilström. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1958. 342 pp., S. Kr. 20.00.

This inaugural dissertation presented to the faculty of the University of Uppsala is a contribution to the history of practical theology, education and religious life in the Middle Ages. Its scope and significance extend beyond Sweden to other countries and churches as well, to which the study often makes extensive reference. The author begins with a rather long survey of the development of catechetical instruction from the primitive church down to the Middle Ages. The instruction was at first in two forms: instruction in the home by parents and godparents and public instruction in the church. From the eighth century onward there appeared alongside, instruction in private confession (and along with it, the actual hearing of confessions), and this form of instruction tended to carry the other two along in its train. The rest of the study shows how these three forms developed further. It draws on an abundance of source material,

especially from Scandinavia: devotional literature, catechetical handbooks, penitential books and a great number of reproductions of church art. In the catechetical instruction in the home and the church, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed and the Ave Maria occupied the central place at first. The practice of private confession gave rise to new elements of instruction. The seven capital sins were particularly important as an aid to confession, and, from the 15th century onward, the decalogue. There were also other groupings (some traceable to biblical texts, some to classical examples): the seven cardinal virtues, the seven sacraments, the seven works of mercy, the seven gifts of the Spirit, the seven beatitudes. There were many other such combinations since catechetical instruction had not been institutionalized and made uniform. Many of these groupings turn up in other theological contexts as well, but their real *Sitz-im-Leben* is often the church's teaching where verses and pictures were used to impress them on the memory. Their systematic principle is always the way of salvation which the church's catechetical instruction and its popular sermons are always describing and putting into forms in which it would be easily retained. Thus the catechetical instruction of the Middle Ages had a soteriological function.

AUSGEWÄHLTE WERKE. Bd. 6: Bibelübersetzung, Schriftauslegung, Predigt [Selected Works. Vol. 6: Translation and Interpretation of the Bible, Preaching]. By Martin Luther. Edited by H. H. Borchardt and Georg Merz. Munich: Christian Kaiser Verlag, 1958. 486 pp., DM 23.00.

This volume completes the third edition of the six-volume "Munich edition" of Luther's chief writings. It is not necessary to call special attention to this edition. The steady hand of the editors in making the selections, the superior format and the felicitous rendering of the texts into language intelligible to modern readers and yet faithful to the rhythm of Luther's style, have all won many friends for the edition. Volume six contains under the heading "Translation of the Bible" Luther's prefaces to the books of the Bible and his letter on translating. As examples of the interpretation of Scripture it has Luther's exegesis of the Magnificat and Psalm 118. Under "Preaching" there is a selection of 17 sermons from the period

1519-1546, which gives a brief but instructive glimpse into the scope of Luther's preaching activity. As in the other volumes, there are short introductions to the writings as a whole and individually, plus concise footnotes.

NATTVARDSKRISEN I KARLSTADS STIFT UNDER 1800-TALET SENARE HÄLFT [*The Crisis in Holy Communion in the Diocese of Karlstad in the Second Half of the 19th Century*]. By Carl Henrik Martling. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1958. 483 pp., S. Kr. 20.00.

This is a doctoral dissertation which sets out to examine the dissolution of the custom of regular and frequent communion in the Swedish diocese of Karlstad in the second half of the 19th century. The essential matrix of the crisis was the dissolution of the ancient ecclesiastical and doctrinal unity, a dissolution brought about by the free church and rationalistic movements which introduced new doctrines of the church, the ministry and the sacraments. The statistics on communion attendance show a direct relation between attendance at communion and the strength of the free church movement. In comparison with this religious and ideological development, the social and economic factors were only of secondary importance in producing the crisis. The difference between industrial and rural parishes of the same religious structure was small, and where the structures were markedly dissimilar the difference was hardly noticeable. Social conditions were able to contribute to a crisis in Holy Communion only because the uniform religious structure of the church had already crumbled beforehand. The work is illustrated with a number of maps, tables and diagrams, and includes a summary in German.

THIS IS MY BODY. *Luther's Contention for the Real Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar.* By Hermann Sasse. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1959. x and 420 pp., \$7.00.

This is a reworking and continuation of two of the author's previous books, *Kirche und Herrenmahl* (1938) and *Vom Sakrament des Altars* (1954). The author, formerly professor of church history at Erlangen University and now professor at Immanuel Theological Seminary in North Adelaide, Australia, devotes the major portion of the book to the Marburg Colloquy and the transcript

of the colloquy as translated into English by Sasse himself on the basis of studies by Walther Köhler. Proceeding from here the author develops his thesis that the colloquy was one of the most important doctrinal discussions in the history of the church, since in the last analysis it was the understanding of revelation itself which was at stake. Since here, as in the Arian controversy, truth and heresy confronted one another, Luther had no alternative but to refuse the hand of fellowship. There were of course decisive differences in conception on both sides. What for Zwingli and his friends was only a difference in theological schools of thought, which could have been tolerated in one and the same church, was for Luther the difference between church and heresy. The chapter on the consequences of the colloquy looks at Bucer, the Wittenberg Concord, Melancthon's truncation of Lutheran doctrine and Calvin's attempt at a solution, and concludes, first, that Luther's doctrine of the sacrament was misunderstood by his followers and, second, that all the further developments of Reformed doctrine of the sacrament do not, in the last analysis, get beyond Zwingli. Finally, says Sasse, Melancthon introduced actualistic thinking into the Lutheran doctrine. At the end of the book the author examines the place of the Sacrament of the Altar in the Lutheran church today; he is afraid that a liturgical movement which bypasses the real presence can fall prey to Romanizing tendencies, without comprehending that "the sacrament is the gospel."

SÄMTLICHE WERKE. Bd. IV, Teil 1: *Schriften zur Sozialpädagogik (Rauhes Haus und Johannesstift)* [*Complete works. Vol. IV, part 1: Writings on Social Education*]. By Johann Hinrich Wichern. Edited by Peter Meinhold. Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1958. 358 pp., DM 19.80.

This is the first volume in the critical edition now underway of the complete works of Wichern, founder of the *Innere Mission* in Germany. The need for a new edition is obvious in view of the fact that the only previous collection of Wichern's writings has long been out of print and is, in addition, sorely incomplete. In the present volume almost half of the writings included have never before been published. Almost all of the writings have a direct bearing on practical work and grew out of the same (e.g.,

annual reports and memoranda explaining the necessity of opening new areas of work). Thus Wichern's work, his theological motives and his ecclesiastical points of view are brought home to the reader not through programmatic declarations but—and this accords well with the character of his life's work—via excerpts from the sphere of his actual work. The reader sees grow up before his eyes the "exemplary improvisation of love" through which Wichern still shows his church the way today.

LUTHER UND DIE SKEPSIS. *Eine Studie zur Kohelet-Exegese Luthers [Luther and Skepticism: A Study of Luther's Exegesis of Ecclesiastes].* By Eberhard Wölfel. Munich: Christian Kaiser Verlag, 1958. 288 pp., DM 15.00.

This Luther study attempts to delineate Luther's debate with skepticism that went on in his exegesis of Ecclesiastes. Since, historically speaking, in carrying on the debate Luther was guilty of eisegesis and of subjecting the words of the text to his own beliefs, the author felt it necessary in the first part of his work to give a historically accurate presentation of the basic viewpoint of Ecclesiastes, based on a study of the primary sources, in order to get an exact picture of the nature of the eisegesis and evaluate it properly. By thus confronting Luther's exegesis with the findings of modern Old Testament exegesis, the author is able to bring out clearly the basic differences between Luther's attitude and his theological presuppositions on the one hand, and all skeptical approaches to life, on the other. This comparison shows that by virtue of his theocentric moorings Luther is proof against skepticism, since skepticism is found only where a person whose orientation is anthropocentric and eudaemonistic discovers that the realization of his life's goals has been frustrated.

Systematic Theology

CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE TODAY. *A Comparison of Roman Catholic and Protestant Views.* By Mario Colacci. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1958. 182 pp., \$3.50.

The author is a former Roman Catholic scholar who now teaches at Augsburg College and Seminary as an ordained Lutheran pastor.

The work is divided into four sections: (1) Roman Catholic teachings on marriage; (2) Protestant teachings on marriage; (3) mixed marriages between Catholics and Protestants; (4) basic theological differences between Roman Catholicism and Evangelical Protestantism (in summary form). Selected bibliographies of pertinent literature are appended to each section. Special attention is given to the growing number of pastoral problems connected with mixed marriages in a modern pluralistic society. Also treated are the varied religious viewpoints on such controversial issues as annulments, divorce, birth control, abortion, artificial insemination and pre-nuptial agreements.

THE WITNESSING COMMUNITY: THE BIBLICAL RECORD OF GOD'S PURPOSE. By Suzanne de Diétrich. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1958. 180 pp., \$3.75.

The author is familiar to many as the former resident lecturer on Bible study in the Bossey Ecumenical Institute. The work was first delivered in lecture form at Union Theological Seminary in Richmond, Virginia. Aiming to present "the divine history within human history," the author traces the record of God's purpose to make the church a holy community which proclaims by word and deed the sovereign Lordship of Christ and the power of his resurrection. In the face of God's "covenantal love" throughout the Old and New Testaments, the people of God are shown to succumb continually to one of two failings: either the temptation to conform to the world or to live in isolation from it. Special emphasis is placed upon the need of the contemporary church to rediscover its true nature as the witnessing community of God's people with its peculiar prophetic mission of addressing God's word to the conditions of our time. Major units covered by the chapters include God's judgment and mercy in the patriarchs, priests, prophets, and apostles.

RELIGION UND OFFENBARUNG. *Erster Band [Religion and Revelation. Vol. 1].* By Romano Guardini. Würzburg: Werkbund-Verlag, 1958. 228 pp., DM 11.80.

This work by Guardini, Roman Catholic philosopher of religion at the University of Munich, is an attempt to define the relation

between the spheres of religion and revelation. That relation, he says, is twofold: general religious phenomena always stand under the light of revelation and in addition also wait upon their evaluation and consummation, which only revelation can bring. The present volume, the first of the projected work, bears the subtitle *Immediate Religion* and begins with an examination of the sphere of religious experience. Beginning with Rudolf Otto's characterization of religious phenomena but holding himself aloof from Otto's irrationalism which dissociates religion from the sphere of thought and truth, Guardini finds the origin of religious experience in the perception of the Ultimate Reality behind all things. It is above all the experience of humans that their existence is not something to be taken for granted and not something necessary, which makes them receptive to religious reality, which in turn emerges in a person's consciousness as something personal and makes community possible. This experience is, to be sure, in itself something ambiguous and dubious: religion is always threatened with degeneration, if it is not recast and given structure. As structural possibilities the author lists mythical religion, the religion of intellectual responsibility (as found in the Greek myths, e.g.), the religion of mystical union, syncretistic religion, and the negative recasting of religion, atheism. In the last section, entitled "Religion and Theory," the author examines the theoretical insights which the understanding is capable of arriving at by observation of the world round about and through religious experience. The author comes down on the side of natural theology: divine reality cannot indeed be apprehended with worldly and immanent concepts, but these nevertheless point to the Absolute and by that gesture cease to have an independent existence. Here is the final truth of the principle of analogy: the surrender of the finite to God is a way of discovering itself in him.

THE GOSPEL OF THE INCARNATION.

By George S. Hendry. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1958. 174 pp., \$3.75.

This work grew out of the 1951 Croall Lectures given at New College, Edinburgh, by the Professor of Systematic Theology at Princeton Theological Seminary. His main thesis is that denominational emphases upon either the incarnation or the atonement result in a fragmentation of the gospel. He con-

tends that both need to be reintegrated into the organic wholeness of the total incarnate life of God as man. Because of the relative lack of stress upon the historical life and work of the historical Jesus in apostolic preaching, the classical christologies of both East and West employed philosophical categories alien to the witness of Holy Scripture. New emphasis must be given to the importance of Jesus' incarnate life in the actual performance of his atoning work. God's forgiveness was bestowed upon sinful men via Christ's life as well as his death.

DER EVANGELISCHE GLAUBE UND DIE KIRCHE. *Grundzüge des evangelisch-lutherischen Kirchenverständnisses* [The Evangelical Faith and the Church. *Basic Characteristics of the Lutheran Understanding of the Church*]. By Ernst Kinder. Berlin: Luthersches Verlagshaus, 1958. 229 pp., DM 18.80.

This is an examination of the nature of the church from the standpoint of Evangelical faith, i.e. the conception of salvation characteristic of the Reformation. Kinder shows that this faith "does not reduce and dissolve the reality of the church; indeed it is only to such faith that that reality discloses itself in its true depths and its living fulness. On the other hand, such faith nourished by the gospel is really itself only within the church's sphere of life" (p. 7). In part one ("Basic Theological Definition of the Church") Kinder examines what the New Testament has to say about the church. In the New Testament the church is not something that arose to conceal the Christians' embarrassment over the delay of the parousia. Nor can the existence of the church be explained in sociological terms enunciated with religious accents (as by Schleiermacher, e.g.), or in institutional terms (as in Roman dogma). The church is essentially the mighty acts of God's revelation and redemption, incorporating themselves in the church and thus making "the church." Hence the "marks of the church" can only be the vehicles of these acts of God creating the church: word and sacrament. Part two ("The Church as seen by the Reformation") attempts to develop the teaching of Luther and the confessions on the church. Their doctrine of the church is not to be regarded merely as an antithesis. The positive starting point of both is to be found in God's monergistic activity in bring-

ing salvation to men through the gospel of Jesus Christ. Thus the church is indeed the congregation of believers; yet the source of the church's life lies not in itself but in the activity of God in justifying sinners. The vehicle of that activity is not a nebulous spirituality but a divinely instituted order. It follows that the "invisibility" of the church does not, according to Lutheran doctrine, exclude the empirical reality of the church. When Lutheran doctrine says the church is "invisible," all it means by that is that the church *qua* church, i.e. in its origin, is hidden to human powers of observation and is manifested only to faith. The last part turns to an examination of "Basic Questions on the Structure of the Church." (1) The church and the ministry: the ministry is to be understood neither from the congregationalist point of view as a function of the congregation, nor hierarchically, as an office placed over the church; the ministry is rather the authorization to administer responsibly word and sacrament in the church for the building up of the church. (2) The ordering and governance of the church: the church is to be governed in accordance with God's basic ordinances, again for the building up of the church. (3) The unity of the church: any one church can claim to be the true church only in a qualitative but not in a quantitative sense.

THE STATE AND THE CHURCH IN A FREE SOCIETY. By A. Victor Murray. London: Cambridge University Press, 1958. 190 pp., 22s. 6d.

The president of Cheshunt College at Cambridge University writes this book in protest against current flights from freedom on both sides of the iron curtain. Both Communism and Roman Catholicism are attracting many converts in our day. The author's thesis is that "the real spirit of Protestantism is very much needed in our time, for it supplies the only genuine alternative to authoritarianism whether Roman or Communist and gives the necessary sanction and challenge to democracy." In this contest, the author clearly favors an alliance of the forces of Protestantism and democracy since both accept the limitations of a higher judgment and refuse to act as judges in their own causes. Protestant (unlike Roman Catholic) churches measure their shortcomings against the ideal of the kingdom of God; democratic societies

(unlike Communism) employ the standard of the law of nature to judge the validity of concrete laws and statutes. The common recognition that "we are men and not God" makes for both good religion and healthy politics.

ETHIK DES POLITISCHEN (*Theologische Ethik*, Bd. II, 2) [*Political Ethics* (*Theological Ethics*, Vol. II, 2)]. By Helmut Thielicke. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1958. xiv and 787 pp., DM 43.00.

This volume constitutes one installment of the grandly conceived theological ethics of Helmut Thielicke, systematist at the University of Hamburg. It is Thielicke's intention, however, that the book be more than a mere part of the whole: he addresses himself in the book not only to theologians wrestling on behalf of the church with the problems of today, but also to those entrusted with political responsibility as they seek to determine the meaning and goal of their task. He therefore discusses a great many pertinent problems from the realms of philosophy, law and politics. He proceeds from the assertion that the political traditions of the 16th century, were they to be revived and adopted today, would not provide us with the answers to contemporary political problems. Hence he proposes an inductive methodology: theology, starting out from a particular doctrinal tradition, must examine carefully the concrete historical facts and from this vantage point reexamine its own bases and so arrive at valid principles of political conduct. Thielicke rejects Roman Catholic natural law as an approach to political problems as well as casuistic and biblicistic use of the Bible to uncover the answers to those problems. He suggests instead that we approach the biblical message with those problems and, vice versa, allow that message to question us with respect to the problems (p. 762). He illustrates this method with a number of examples, e.g. Bismarck's and Hitler's relations with the state. In part one ("The Problem") Thielicke attempts to measure the biblical conception of political authority against contemporary forms of political life, such as the democratic or the ideological state. A thoroughgoing debate with the Marxian and communist doctrine of the state follows. Part two ("The Nature of the State") includes a discussion (illustrated by various examples such as education laws and the welfare state)

of the tension between the growing responsibilities of the state in modern society and the call for a minimum of government. Part three ("On the Boundaries of the State's Jurisdiction") turns to the questions agitating the church in Germany today: resistance to the state, war and nuclear weapons. Part four ("Other Approaches to the Relation of Church and State") marks Lutheran doctrine of the state off from that of Roman Catholicism and Calvinism: the doctrine of the two kingdoms keeps the church from theocratic pretensions but does impose on it the role of watchman over the state.

COMMUNISM AND THE THEOLOGIANS: STUDY OF AN ENCOUNTER. By Charles C. West. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1958. 399 pp., \$6.00.

The author's purpose is to survey the impact which Marxist thought and Soviet action have had upon contemporary Protestant theologians. Among the works analyzed are those of Brunner, Hromadka, Tillich, Niebuhr, Barth and Gollwitzer. Stress is laid upon theological reactions to the Marxist critique of religion, its view of history and its concept of collective man. On the basis of these comparative interpretations, the author sets out his own position (based upon firsthand contacts in China and Germany): the communist order will not be overcome by doctrine but only by deeds. The masses will listen to the church only when it bravely steps forward as the champion of the world's poor and oppressed. Christian social action must offer creative alternatives to the Communist promises of an earthly utopia by its own revolutionary witness to the universal Lordship of Christ. Concrete suggestions are given for the guidance of those who must live under Communism as well as for those who encounter it as a living threat and challenge.

PREACHING FOR THE CHURCH. By Richard R. Caemmerer. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1959. xiii and 353 pp., \$4.50.

This book seeks to pull together the experiences of 20 years spent in the teaching of homiletics. Proceeding from the affirmation

that preaching is God's word in Christ addressed to people, the following chapters are devoted to a discussion of the theoretical and practical aspects of preaching. Appended to each chapter are a number of questions designed to stimulate further thinking on the problems discussed. Theory and practice are intimately related, however, since "every stage of preparation for preaching, as well as preaching itself, requires that the preacher be equally concerned for the Word from God and for the people to whom the Word must come" (p. xii). The discussion of sermon technique is directed to the preparation of textual as well as topical sermons, the author regarding both types as equally justified. A survey of the most important emphases recurring with regular frequency in preaching (such as faith, the Christian life, the church, the family, hope, prayer) is designed to help the preacher gain mastery of his preaching. Much stress is laid upon the personal problems of the preacher, such as management of time, self-criticism, routine, and others. The appendices include an annotated bibliography and practical aids to sermon preparation.

EVANGELISCH LEBEN! Predigten mit Luthers Hilfe [Life in the Gospel: Sermons—with Luther's Assistance]. By Erwin Mülhaupt. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1958. 151 pp., DM 10.80.

In this volume of 25 sermons on selected New Testament texts, Mülhaupt, editor of *Luthers Evangelienauslegung* and *Luthers Psalmenauslegung*, attempts to illustrate with the use of actual sermons as examples how these two works he has edited can be used to make Luther's exegesis of Scripture bear fruit in present-day preaching. He feels that brief and penetrating statements by Luther should be quoted in sermons. In Luther he also sees a master when it comes to catching the concrete accents peculiar to a Scripture passage, or when it comes to the use of language intelligible to the average individual. The title of the book, *Life in the Gospel*, is intended to draw attention to the practical nature of Luther's preaching. Luther, says Mülhaupt, despite his emphasis on the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith, never favored it at the expense of the biblical imperatives and the statements of the Bible on Christian experience and growth in the Christian life.

SYMBOLON. VOM GLEICHNISHAFTEN DENKEN. *Aufsätze und Betrachtungen.* [In Honor of the 75th Birthday of Bishop Stählin]. Published under the auspices of the Michaelsbruderschaft, edited and with a foreword by Adolf Köberle. Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1959. 420 pp., DM 28.00.

This is a collection of essays and articles, some previously unpublished, some published here and there in various periodicals and *Festschriften* or as individual volumes. They cover a wide variety of subjects and are divided into three sections: (1) Scripture, (2) the church, its doctrine, its worship and its life, and (3) miscellaneous. They stimulate thinking along a number of lines: main themes of the Bible as seen in the context of the total witness of Scripture, reverent appreciation of mythical thought, the connection between worship and liturgy and the daily life of the Christian, the role of the Lutheran church in the ecumenical movement, revival of devotional meditation, the proper orientation of pastoral care. Although there is no external unity to the 35 essays, there is an internal unity stemming from the ecclesiastical and theological orientation of the author. His concern in all of them is to clear the way for an immediate, "whole" approach to the reality of Christian faith and life, and to shatter the primacy of abstract, scholarly thought which dichotomizes reality. His concern is to restore the incarnation and the concreteness of revelation to the doctrine and life of the church.

PREDIGTHILFEN. *Band 1: Evangelien* [Helps to Preaching. Vol. 1: The Gospels]. By Wilhelm Stählin. Kassel: Johannes Stauda-Verlag, 1958. DM 24.20.

This first installment of a three-volume work (the other volumes, to appear this year, will treat the Epistles and Old Testament texts) is the fruit of the labors of 25 years. The work will deal with about 700 different texts. Bishop Stählin confines himself with but few exceptions to the six-year cycle of texts adopted by most Protestant churches in Germany, in the selecting and editing of which Stählin played an important part (the texts are listed in *Ordnung der Predigttexte*, Lutherisches Verlagshaus, Berlin, 1958). Following the cycle, the book treats some texts

hardly ever preached on. It assumes that the preacher will do the necessary critical and exegetical work on the text, although occasionally it discusses exegetical details. The work is animated by the whole sweep of biblical thought. It takes particular account of the place of the particular text in the church year and the connections between the text and the propers for the day. There is an index of the texts treated with indications of the location of each in the church year.

MISSIO DEI. *Einführung in eine Theologie der Mission* [Missio Dei. Introduction to a Theology of Missions]. By Georg F. Vicedom. Munich: Christian Kaiser Verlag, 1958. 104 pp., DM 6.80.

This new theology of missions finds the starting point of mission work in the activity of God himself, in the sending of his Son and, in fact, in the inner-trinitarian essence of God himself. This *missio Dei* is the divinely given model for the church's mission. Missionary work is an essential mark of the church. The goal of the *missio Dei* is to bring people under God's governance and to provide them with the necessary gifts for the salvation of a lost world. Through his ambassadors God offers to men the fullness of his salvation. This defines the place of the church in the world. As God's own people, Israel had a missionary calling. It is with Jesus Christ, however, that God's direct mission begins. After Jesus' exaltation, God has continued to carry out that mission through the Holy Spirit by making of men his messengers and instruments. The church is therefore always underway, going to people who do not yet know of salvation. The mission of the church is to go from nation to nation and from continent to continent, thus ushering in for those nations the day of salvation. Through baptism the church of Jesus Christ emerges in the midst of the nations. Vicedom lays special stress on the missionary significance of Holy Communion as a line of demarcation between the church and the world, and between the church and indigenous religions. Holy Communion excludes from the church all other religious fellowships. As he proceeds Vicedom discusses other books on missions (Hartenstein, Holstein, Freytag, etc.). The book is divided into: *missio Dei*, the rule of God, the commission, the goal, the congregation of believers.

A Survey of Periodical Literature

KERYGMA UND DOGMA, *Zeitschrift für theologische Forschung und kirchliche Lehre*. Editor: Wilfried Joest. Publishers: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, Göttingen. 1958, 4 numbers.

NUMBER 1

"Die Erforschung der Geschichte Israels als theologische Aufgabe" (pp. 1-19), by Franz Hesse.

Scholarly study of the history of Israel is a theological task since that history is part of the basis of the kerygma. In the history of Israel sacred and secular history are interwoven and not parallel strands.

"Zu den Äusserungen von Niels Bohr über religiöse Fragen" (pp. 20-46), by Günter Howe.

In the first part of the article the author gives a picture of the work and significance of Bohr, the Danish physicist. The second part treats his statements on religion which, the author says, provide theology with new incentives for turning its attention to science. Reformulation of the doctrine of God is particularly necessary.

"Melancthon's 'Theologia germanica'" (pp. 47-58), by Robert Stupperich.

Stupperich, church historian in Münster, demonstrates that the so-called "Olmützer manuscript" is an original version of the recasting in German of Melancthon's *Loci*. From this fact can be drawn conclusions for the history of the church and theology, especially with regard to the positions held by Melancthon after Luther's death.

"Nochmals zur Chronologie der frühen exegetischen Vorlesungen Melancthon's" (pp. 59-60), by Adolf Sperl.

Corrections to be made in article by Lowell C. Green in Vol. 3, No. 2.

NUMBER 2

"Das dreigliedrige Glaubensbekenntnis" (pp. 61-72), by Gustaf Wingren.

This article will constitute a section in Wingren's forthcoming book *Skapelse og lagen* ("creation and law"). Wingren discusses Cullmann's *Early Christian Confessions*

and comes to the conclusion that the trinitarian confession preserves the biblical truths of faith better than do one- or two-member confessions.

"Zur Behandlung des Kompromissproblems in der Geschichte der evangelisch-lutherischen Ethik" (pp. 73-111), by Dieter Walther.

A lengthy survey of the problem of "compromise" in the history of Lutheran ethics. The author shows that compromise has been treated as a definition of the relation between the radical law of love and the ordinances of this world. Compromise is a God-given possibility of ethical action enabling the citizen of the new aeon to live in the old.

"Die Predigt als Kommunikation" (pp. 112-128), by Hans-Otto Wölber.

Preaching must lead beyond dialogue to a creation of community. The anthropological aspect of preaching, i.e. putting faith into action, must also receive its due.

"Der alttestamentliche Hintergrund der liturgischen Formel 'Amen'" (pp. 129-141), by Egon Pfeiffer.

The root of the Hebrew word "amen" is found in other Semitic languages as well. It is a solemn affirmation and, above all, a doxological close, deriving not from the religious life of the individual but from the language of the cultic and sacred sphere.

NUMBER 3

"Ontologie in der Theologie? Eine systematische Skizze" (pp. 143-175), by Gerhard Stammler.

Ontology is impossible in theology as long as it remains within the bounds of the immanent-transcendent pattern of thought.

"Wann ist ein theologischer Satz wahr?" (pp. 176-190), by Heinrich Vogel.

The truth of a theological statement cannot be determined solely within the sphere of creatureliness. Only the light of the majesty of Christ, to be revealed at the end of all things, can disclose that truth.

"Der ökumenische Beitrag der Russischen Orthodoxen Kirche" (pp. 191-212), by Edmund Schlöcker.

After giving some impressions gathered on his trip to Russia, the author shows how the

Russian church, by virtue of its doctrine, life and present vitality, can strengthen the ecumenical movement. At the same time its participation would make clearer the limits of the World Council of Churches. The article has now appeared in English in the *Scottish Journal of Theology*, March, 1959.

NUMBER 4

"Tradition nach Paulus" (pp. 213-233), by Leonhard Goppelt.

Although primitive Christianity was at first hostile to tradition, Paul regards tradition as a pneumatic and kerygmatic act and as the transmission of doctrine and confessions, a transmission to which the life of the primitive church gave rise. Tradition later became fixed. Scripture is a binding application of tradition.

"Der Zusammenhang zwischen Geist und Tradition nach dem Neuen Testament" (pp. 234-250), by Jean-Louis Leuba.

In primitive Christianity and in the New Testament there is no difference between the Spirit and tradition. Each is in organic relation to the other. It follows that there is a connection between tradition and the work of the Holy Spirit today.

"Christlicher Glaube und menschliche Freiheit" (pp. 251-280), by Wolfhart Pannenberg.

The freedom of the Christian consists in his sovereignty over the world and in his tie to God and His will. This destroys all human ideals of freedom and gives the Christian new responsibility.

"Die Bedeutung der Begriffe Raum, Zeit und Ewigkeit in der christlichen Verkündigung und Lehre" (pp. 281-286), by Erwin Schneider.

Whereas philosophy seeks to be free of time, it is an essential element in teaching and preaching which do not define God in materialistic terms of time and space. The "here" and "now" of teaching and preaching are sacramental and are expressed in the New Testament by the words *kairos* and *aion*.

"Ein Bischof sei eines Weibes Mann . . ." (pp. 287-300), by W. A. Schulze.

The question in the dispute over the exegesis of 1 Tim. 3:2 is whether it forbids polygamy or remarriage. Exegetes do not agree; some also find here a prohibition of divorce.

POSITIONS LUTHÉRIENNES. Edited by Prof. Theobald Suess. Published in Paris. Vol. 6, 1958, 4 numbers.

NUMBER 1, JANUARY, 1958

"Sermon pour la semaine de prières pour l'unité de l'église" (pp. 5-11), by J. M. Waltz.

The goals of the ecumenical movement and the idea of the unity Christians already possess seen in the context of Phil. 2:5.

"Thèses de Minneapolis" (pp. 12-22).

The French translation of the theses from the Minneapolis Assembly of the LWF.

"Du 'Document d'études' aux 'Thèses de Minneapolis'" (pp. 23-33), by Robert Wolff.

A short account of how the 51 theses came into being at the Minneapolis Assembly together with a commentary on each of the subtopics of the theme of the Assembly.

"Le droit dans la théologie de Luther (étude critique)" (pp. 34-60), by Theobald Suess.

A review article treating a number of books on Luther's concept of law, ethics and social ethics.

NUMBER 2, APRIL, 1958

"Luther et les débuts de la réforme française" (pp. 75-83), by Jean Cadier.

The author, dean of the Protestant seminary in Paris, gives a survey of Luther's relation to French theology, his influence on the French Reformation, and French translations of his works.

"L'actualité de Luther" (pp. 84-91), by Hanns Lilje.

Lilje shows how the Lutheran church has spread throughout the world. The question today is whether Luther's main concern has retained its relevance. Significant today are Luther's radicality of thought and his doctrine of justification by faith as an answer to the modern question of existence.

"Théologie et phénoménologie Husserlienne" (pp. 92-136), by Theobald Suess.

A lengthy study in which the author demonstrates the significance of Husserl for modern philosophy. He then shows that his phenomenological approach to reality is better

than the ontological one and is in a better position to deal with the basic questions of theology. Husserl's phenomenology is also a possible answer to the problems raised by the Lutheran Reformation and the divided state of Protestantism.

NUMBER 3, JULY, 1958

"Tradition et invention dans les églises de la réforme" (pp. 153-163), by Theobald Suess.

Setting out from the concept of the church in the Lutheran confessions, the author develops the differences between the churches of the Reformation, particularly in their concepts of "substance" in the doctrine of Holy Communion. This traditional concept has to be laid aside if these churches are to come to an understanding.

"La tradition doctrinale et liturgique de l'église réformée" (pp. 164-176), by Roger Mehl.

Reformed theology is characterized by the dominating position occupied by the Bible. Hence it is not acquainted with "tradition" in the true sense of the term. Nevertheless it has always held to certain doctrines: its christology, its view of church discipline as one of the marks of the church, its doctrine of the law and election by grace. Reformed liturgy has always been oriented toward doctrine. The word of God occupies the central place, and the liturgy is sober in tone. One of the distinctive characteristics of the Reformed church is its rejection of a church year.

"Que signifie la tradition pour la vie de nos paroisses? Bénédiction et dangers" (pp. 177-190), by René Blanc.

Tradition is the act of transmission not only of faith but of life. Tradition is in the first place the heritage from preceding generations; its continuity lies in its sensitive conscience. Tradition can help to retain the essential things, to manifest visible unity, maintain good order and foster the incarnation of ideas. Dangers lurk in its tendency toward archaism and formalism.

NUMBER 4, OCTOBER, 1958

"Chorale Paroissiale, liturgie et chant d'église" (pp. 192-209), by J. M. Waltz.

On the basis of the insights gained from working with his church choir, the author writes on the role of the choir in worship. The choir exists not to embellish the service but to participate in the *opus Dei*, the liturgy. From this the author derives some principles governing the choir's singing. The liturgy is the voice of the church bearing the prayers of the congregation to God's throne. The liturgy must not be put at the mercy of human caprice. The author concludes with a short survey of hymnody from the Gregorian chorale down to modern church music.

"La liberté de réformer l'église" (pp. 210-218), by Bo Giertz.

French translation of the third main address delivered at the Minneapolis Assembly.

LITERATURE SURVEY is published as appendix to LUTHERAN WORLD by the Department of Theology, Lutheran World Federation, Director Dr. Vilmos Vajta. The contributors to this issue were: Harm Alpers, Hermannsburg; Horst Beintker, Greifswald; Wesley J. Fuerst, Fremont, Neb.; Theo Hauf, Flonheim; Ragnar Holte, Uppsala; William E. Hulme, Oxford; Kent S. Knutson, Minneapolis; Ernst W. Kohls, Münster; William H. Lazareth, Philadelphia; Philip A. Quanbeck, Minneapolis; Eero Repo, Helsinki; Jürgen Roloff, Geneva; Martin Schloemann, Münster; Adolf Sperl, Kaufbeuren; Hans H. Weissgerber, Allendorf an der Lahn; Klaus Zimmermann, Erlangen; Wolfram Zoller, Tübingen.

All inquiries should be forwarded to: Department of Theology of LWF, Geneva, Switzerland, 17 Route de Malagnou.

Subscriptions are payable in advance and may be sent to any of the following addresses:

ARGENTINA	1 year \$1.70 2 years \$3.— (or equivalent)	The Rev. Levon H. Speth Casilla Correo 118, Azul - F.C.N.G. - Roca
AUSTRALIA	1 year 18 Austr. s. 2 years 32 Austr. s.	Lutheran Book Depot 19 O'Connell Street, North Adelaide, S.A.
BRITISH GUIANA	1 year BWI \$3.50 2 years BWI \$6.25	The Rev. Aubrey R. Bowen Buxton Village, E. C. Demerara
CANADA	1 year \$2.75 2 years \$5.—	Canadian Lutheran Council 308 Kennedy Street, Winnipeg 2, Manitoba
DENMARK	1 year D. Kr. 13.— 2 years D. Kr. 22.—	The Rev. Jens J. Thomsen Vendersgade 28, Copenhagen K
ETHIOPIA	1 year Eth. \$5.— 2 years Eth. \$9.—	The Rev. Herbert Schaeffer American Lutheran Mission, Box 1899 Addis Ababa
GERMANY	1 year DM 8.80	Lutheran World 17 route de Malagnou, Geneva
HONG KONG and TAIWAN	1 year HK \$10.— 2 years HK \$18.—	Lutheran Literature Society 33 Granville Road, Kowloon, Hong Kong
ICELAND	1 year I. Kr. 30.— 2 years I. Kr. 54.—	
INDIA	1 year 9 Rupees 2 years 16 Rupees	
INDONESIA	1 year \$1.75 2 years \$3.— (or equivalent)	The Rev. Gerhard Reitz c/o Nommensen University, Pematang Siantar, Sumatra
JAPAN	1 year 700 Yen 2 years 1200 Yen	Lutheran Literature Society 11, 1 Chome, Iida Machi, Chiyoda Ku, Tokyo
LIBERIA	1 year Lib. \$1.75 2 years Lib. \$3.—	Mr. James McKay Lutheran Mission, Monrovia
MADAGASCAR	1 year CFA Fr. 400 2 years CFA Fr. 720	Imprimerie Luth��r��enne Avenue Grandidier, Tananarive, B.P. 538
NEW GUINEA	1 year 18 Austr. s. 2 years 32 Austr. s.	Lutheran Mission Press Madang, Terr. of New Guinea
NIGERIA	1 year 12 WA s. 2 years 21 WA s.	Sudan United Mission Bookstore Yola
NORWAY	1 year N. Kr. 13.— 2 years N. Kr. 22.—	The Rev. Henrik Hauge R��ahagan 25, R��a, Oslo
SWEDEN	1 year Sw. Kr. 11.— 2 years Sw. Kr. 19.—	The Rev. ��ke Kastlund Jakobsbergsgatan 19, III, Stockholm
TANGANYIKA	1 year 12 EA s. 2 years 21 EA s.	Vuga Mission Press P. O. Soni, via Tanga
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	1 year 12 SA s. 2 years 21 SA s.	The Lutheran Publishing House 150 Bellevue Rd., Durban
UNITED KINGDOM	1 year 14 s. 2 years 25 s.	Lutheran Books, Ltd., 71 Edgware Rd., Marble Arch London, W. 2
UNITED STATES	1 year \$2.75 2 years \$5.—	National Lutheran Council 50 Madison Avenue New York 10, N. Y.

If there is no agent in your country or area, subscriptions may be sent directly to LUTHERAN WORLD, 17 route de Malagnou, Geneva, Switzerland, at the rate applicable in your country or the country nearest you.

LUTHERAN WORLD also appears in German. All inquiries concerning the German edition should be addressed to: *Lutherische Rundschau*, Kreuz-Verlag, Lange Strasse 51, Stuttgart N, Germany.